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ESSAYS AND MEMORIALS

LOUIS XIV, IN 1664.

from the portrait by Nanteuil.

ESSAYS AND MEMORIALS

BY JOHN W. SIMPSON, *PRESIDENT OF THE ROYAL INSTITUTE OF BRITISH ARCHITECTS 1920–1921, MEMBRE CORR. DE L'INSTITUT DE FRANCE. WITH A PREFACE BY MAJOR* H. BARNES, *F.R.I.B.A.*

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PREFACE

COURTEOUS READER,

A Preface is like a forecourt to a house. It lies between the passer-by and the porch. It should not delay the caller, but rather quicken his interest in what he goes to see. It is the path leading to the door. In the Greek Ritual a preface begins with an exhortation to thanksgiving and ends with a Sanctus. So would I have mine begin and end, and in that spirit may you pass within. I can vouch for welcome, for wit, for wisdom, for rooms lined with old books, and walls hung with old prints, doors opening on to an old England, and windows looking out over an older France. As you enter, the Dreamer of Bedford will take you by the hand and lead you into a place

where a Fire is; and when you leave, the words of Twashtri will be falling round your ears like petals into a pool. There are tales to be told round that Fire, and if they cross the Channel do not think it surprising, for Paris has given your Host many friends and much honour. That, too, is not strange, for with much love and no less learning he tells her story. Within his walls Kings and Ministers await you, and those greater ones, who minister to Kings, Painters, Sculptors, Architects; of that rare company to whom Beauty is Truth, Truth Beauty, he will make you free. A master architect himself, he lays down for a little while his pencil that he may take up the pen which masters more than the sword, for a little book may outlast a great building, and a papyrus survive a pyramid. Old books lie upon his table. They have been his quarries, and in other days other men will quarry in these pages. There be many come to Athens, but few go to Pentelikos. That I have been there permits me bid you–Enter here.

H. BARNES.

The Temple, Oct. 1922.

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IN THE HOUSE OF THE INTERPRETER

(*LOUIS XIV and COLBERT*)

Plate 1.

JEAN-BAPTISTE COLBERT, IN 1662.

From the Portrait by Philippe de Champaigne.

IN THE HOUSE OF THE INTERPRETER

(*LOUIS XIV and COLBERT*)

"Then I ſaw in my Dream, that the *Interpreter* took *Chriſtian* by the hand, and led him into a place, where was a Fire burning againſt a Wall, and one ſtanding by it always, caſting much Water upon it to quench it: Yet did the Fire burn higher and hotter.

Then ſaid Chriſtian, *What means this?* So he had him about to the back ſide of the Wall, where he ſaw a Man with a Veſſel of Oyl in his hand, of the which he did alſo continually caſt into the fire.

I saw alſo that the *Interpreter* took him again by the hand, and led him into a pleaſant place, where was builded a ſtately Palace, beautiful to behold; at the ſight of which, *Chriſtian* was greatly delighted; . . . There also ſat a Man, at a little diſtance from the door, at a Table-ſide, with a Book, and his Inkhorn before him."

"HAD Louis XIV known how to keep accounts, and estimate his expenditure, he would not have been ruined," said Napoleon. But, the real mischief was that, although his accounts were duly kept by his

indefatigable "Contrôleur-Général,"[1] the King would never heed the moral they conveyed. In vain did Colbert insist on submitting to his Majesty, "not later than the fourth day of each month," the receipts and expenditure of the month preceding, and showing him the balance of debit or credit, as the case might be. Worse still, the whole thing, like many others of Louis's reign, was a sham! Colbert's accounts were in order, but the cash was not. During Fouquet's administration the disorder had become hopeless; it is likely that the King, who was sufficiently shrewd, realized this, and that his refusal to proportion his plans to his revenue was deliberate. Nothing short of a prolonged and drastic economy could have saved the situation; and Louis, great King though he was, was not the great man who could face realities, and renounce an ostentatious grandeur for the sake of putting his kingdom on a solid basis of finance. With a frugal Henri IV to support him, Colbert might have shown the rigorous honesty of a Sully; Louis XIV had no leaning to frugality, and never allowed his "minister" to forget that, not only in name, but in fact, he was his "servant." Under these

[1] The office of "Surintendant des Finances" was abolished with the fall of Fouquet. Colbert was at first "Intendant," becoming, after 1665, "Contrôleur-Général."

circumstances, Colbert's conscience went by the board. "To do well, and give a satisfactory account of it, is perfection. To do ill and render a poor account is perdition," so he advised his son, Seignelay; for he was a good, and even tender, father, and directed the education of his sons with care. "But," he added, "as between one man who is upright, and does not present his matter well, and another who acts ill, but makes out a good case, the latter will save his skin rather than the former."

He, himself, would have preferred to do well, and render good accounts. Such perfection being unattainable, he acted as best he could; and composed his statements as though he had done as well as he desired. Irregular financial expedients were forced upon him by the King's extravagance, against his own better knowledge and principles. "Non enim quod volo bonum, hoc ago: sed quod odi malum, illud facio." The Interpreter's parable of the Fire of Grace was inverted; and Colbert's efforts to extinguish Debt were of no avail against the continual additions to Louis's expenditure.

A man of austere life, smallish in stature and dour visaged, with bushy eyebrows, and thin black hair gathered under a skull-cap, Colbert had an inordinate appetite for work. Above all,

he loved writing, being a man of little speech, and of precise method. It was observed that his brow relaxed its set frown only when, rubbing his hands he sat down to his desk. Charged not only with the control of the Royal finances, but responsible also for the Fleet and Admiralty, his supervision of the King's building operations was, though a sufficient task for a man of ordinary ability, but the least of Colbert's occupations. Yet, the inspiring activity with which he directed the building works at Versailles, and the improvements of Paris, has immortalized his tenure of office as "Surintendant des Bâtimens du Roy." In this capacity, which has made his name conspicuous in history as read by architects, Charles Perrault was his chosen confidant and henchman.

Perrault, who was an accomplished, if unimaginative, man of letters, had been brought to Colbert's notice in 1662, when the Minister was seeking a desirable fourth member to complete a small consultative Committee (the nucleus of the future Académie des Inscriptions) formed in connection with his building administration. Claude Perrault, the elder brother of Charles, was a competent physician. Yet, as Lacroix remarks, neither of the brothers found his reputation in the exercise of what he conceived to be

his vocation. The stately colonnade of the Louvre, which he designed, measures for all time our thought of Claude, the doctor; while about the grave periwig of the academician, Charles, float the delicate phantoms of Cinderella, the Sleeping Beauty, and Little Red Riding-hood.

* * *

Both were amateur architects and, between them, had refashioned the house of Pierre Perrault, their elder brother, at Viry. The two were devoted allies; Charles, as Colbert's secretary and Contrôleur-général des bâtiments, was, moreover, in a position to advance effectively his brother's interests; and this he did, as occasion presented, without much scruple. When Colbert, dissatisfied with Le Vau's design for the completion of the Louvre, invited competitive proposals from other architects, Claude Perrault submitted a design, of which the peristylar motive was suggested by Charles. Colbert was quick to perceive its merit, but uncertain of his own judgment, decided to obtain suggestions from the best Italian artists before forming a definite opinion. Bernini, then at the zenith of his fame, prepared a design which found favour; and was invited to visit Paris and discuss it with the King. Here was serious peril for Claude,

and Charles lost no time in thrusting an adroit stick in the Cavalier's wheels. "What do you think of Bernini's conception?" asked Colbert. "I have not seen it," said Perrault; which was, as he admits in his memoirs, untrue. "It is a fine design," continued Colbert. "Ah!" said Perrault, "of course it has detached columns?" "No," was the reply, "the columns are but three-quarters, and engaged." "There is, perhaps, a great entrance doorway?" suggested crafty Perrault. "No," said Colbert, "'tis no greater than the door to the Kitchens." "I let fall a few more observations of the kind," adds Perrault, "to show him that Bernini had committed the very faults for which Le Vau's design was unfavourably criticised."

The Italian's design came, nevertheless, within an ace of being carried into execution; and the foundation stone was actually laid by the King, with befitting pomp. Fortunately for the Perraults, Bernini, seeing the foundations begun and dreading, at his advanced age, the prospect of a chill northern winter, returned to Rome. Charles, who lost no opportunity in his reports to Colbert of picking holes in the Cavalier's plans, a process for which they offered generous occasion, (but with a careful discretion "I thought it wise not to point out too many faults the first

time") had made friends with Mathias, the assistant whom Bernini had left in Paris to carry on the work. A model of the building being now ready for the final approval of the King and the Court, Perrault submitted a damaging memorandum on the scheme; following it by a second, even more destructive, to which he astutely obtained the support of Mathias. Colbert, already disgusted with Bernini's insolent arrogance, and alarmed at his utter indifference to details of the Royal convenience [1] which conflicted with his own ideas, was glad enough to find such good ground for getting rid of the Cavalier; and dissuaded the King from proceeding further with the design. Mathias was handsomely paid for his disloyalty, and "since then," says Perrault, with relief, "we have heard no more of him, or of Cavalier Bernini, in connection with the Louvre."

Claude Perrault's design was now submitted to Louis, with an alternative project by Le Vau. The inspection took place in the King's private room at Saint-Germain; His Majesty, attended by his captain of the Guard, being alone with Colbert and his secretary. Perrault tells the story of the interview. "The King examined the drawings with great attention, and turning to Colbert,

[1] "M. Colbert treats me like a child," said Bernini, "with his trivial talk about privies and underground drains."

asked which of the two he thought the better, and the more worthy to be carried out." To Perrault's dismay, the Minister replied that, "were the choice with him, he would take the one without the gallery" (that is Le Vau's). "But," continues the narrative, "no sooner had he declared for this design, than the King said 'And I choose the other, which seems to me finer, and more dignified.'" The affair was a lesson in courtcraft to Perrault, who saw that Colbert wished his Royal master to have the credit of the selection. "It may, perhaps," he reflects, "have been but play-acting between the King and him."

Although the common enemy was now routed, it required all the tact of the two Perraults to maintain their position. The selection of Claude's design was, as may be imagined, far from pleasing to the professional artists; and the popular quip ran that "architecture must be in a sad way, since it needs a doctor!" The end, it is affirmed by some, justifies the means, and the exchange of Bernini's ponderous mass for the elegant composition of Perrault was to the advantage of French art; but neither Colbert nor Charles can claim our sympathy for their procedure. Chantelou,[1] who was heart and

[1] "Memoirs, 1681." Published in the "Gazette des Beaux-Arts," about 1877–8.

GROTTE D'APOLLON, VERSAILLES.

The Grotto as now existing, remodelled by Hubert Robert, 1778.

soul for Bernini, attributes his defeat to a cabal, of which Charles Perrault was the leader; and says that Colbert sacrificed him to the jealousy of the French artists. Bernini himself certainly took no pains to propitiate them, and must needs sneer at the work Charles was doing at the Tuileries under his brother's direction; "Une grande petite chose!" was his remark, which Chantelou duly recorded.

* * *

Louis, however, was never really interested in the Louvre. He detested both Paris and the Parisians, and never forgave them his enforced flight during the troubles of the Fronde. His heart was in the work at Versailles, which was his own creation, and constant delight. Here we accordingly find Charles Perrault, in active exercise of his functions as Contrôleur des bâtiments, supervising the builders, engineers, and artists, and endeavouring the hopeless task of keeping down the appalling expenditure. He found occasion, now and then, for exercising his favourite hobby, and suggested the idea of the "Grotte d'Apollon"[1] to his brother; who worked out the design completed by Le Brun, together with Girardon, and other sculptors. Claude also

Pl. II.

[1] Entirely remodelled in 1778 by Hubert Robert.

designed many of the marble and bronze urns, also the "allée d'eau," or "des marmousets," one of the most charming features of the gardens. The King was well pleased and all went smoothly, until after his official tour,[1] with the Minister of War, Louvois, to inspect the fortifications which Vauban had erected at various strategic points in the kingdom. Louvois, Colbert's rival and enemy, had, it is to be thought, in rendering his own "good account" of what he had "done well," taken occasion to trouble the Royal mind about the cost of Versailles as compared with that of his own military work. "Why is it," said the King to Colbert, on his return, "that we expend such alarming sums at Versailles, and find hardly anything finished? There is something in this which I fail to understand." Colbert, deeply chagrined, protested the difference between the labour of scantily paid soldiers, and that of the skilled workmen at Versailles, who received a good day-wage. He explained that, while the extent of fortification works, which were all, more or less, similar, could be seen at a glance, the works at Versailles were of many different kinds, and scattered in a thousand places. It

[1] Perrault says in 1667, which is probably a misprint for 1677.

was in vain. He saw, says Perrault, that the King was deaf to argument, and had been persuaded that all the prices paid at Versailles were too high. In order to remove the King's suspicions, all building work was henceforward put up to tender; and notices inviting offers from workmen of all trades were posted at the street-corners. The result was disastrous; the cheap contractors proved incompetent, their joinery, in particular, being so deplorable that when the casements they made were closed daylight showed freely through their joints. It speaks well for the administration of Colbert and Perrault that the better workmen went on with their work as before, notwithstanding predictions of their consequent ruin. "We care nothing for tenders and contracts," said they, "M. Colbert is too just not to pay a proper value for our work." Their confidence, it is pleasant to note, was justified; they were paid at the old rates, without reference to bargains made with other workmen.

The strain and anxiety caused by the King's expenditure told heavily on Colbert and Perrault. Never a genial personage, "M. Colbert became so irritable, and difficult to please," writes his faithful secretary, "that it was impossible to satisfy, or to endure him"; and after his son, De Blainville,

had been placed for a time under Perrault's tuition, the latter was thankful to hand over his office to him, "having put all the building documents in good order," and to retire to the fine house he had acquired in the rue Saint-Jacques.

* * *

Jules-Armand Colbert, Marquis d'Ormoy et de Blainville, youngest son of the illustrious Minister, whom we now find (1679) acting as chief "clerk of the works" in charge of the complex operations at Versailles, superintending the construction of the aqueducts which transformed the sandy and ungrateful site into a magnificent water-garden, completing the main buildings, the great stables in the Place d'Armes,[1] the chapel, the theatre, the ball-room, and the gardens, was a young gentleman some seventeen years of age. A handsome boy, headstrong and pleasure-loving, but with most amiable qualities, he was something of what would be called, in modern slang, a "nut"; to whom Paris, and its attractions, were vastly more congenial than the bricks and mortar of half-finished Versailles. His frequent escapades to the Capital—followed by a fluster of repentant diligence—and his airy disregard of

[1] La Grande et la Petite Ecurie; now the Barracks of the Artillery and of the Engineers, respectively.

orders, brought upon him the wrath of his austere father, who loved exactitude in every detail; and demanded of the unlucky youth a tale of work which he despaired of furnishing. Although Colbert used his position without scruple for the advantage of his relations, he exacted from them, in return, an entire devotion to the King's service; and was merciless to those who failed to render it.

The correspondence of D'Ormoy with his father is still preserved, the son's letters margined by Colbert with impatient, anxious notes; and between the lines we discern why even the experienced Perrault found his place intolerable. Besides the curious fascination common to all documents which reveal the intimate personality of a great historic figure, the letters are of extreme interest for the glimpses they give us of the building of Versailles. The King, great artists, and humble artisans, all the actors in the marvellous drama of construction, move before us as in a living picture.

Colbert has his eye on them all. "Tell Cliquin to clear away his sheds, so that the paved road can be carried from the Petite-Ecurie right up to the Château railings." . . . "Measure up Satory's two reservoirs with him to-morrow, and see that he himself takes the measurements, with the aid of Prudhomme, and that Lefèvre and Rambar

are also present." . . . "Set Pagevis to measure up the masonry of the Grande-Ecurie, and Perrault that of the Petite, and see that they work continuously." . . . "If you can induce M. Blondel[1] to stay with you for a fortnight at Versailles, do so, and take lessons in architecture every day." . . . "You are to ask M. Blondel to go two days a week to Versailles, taking with him the paymaster of the works, and have all the vouchers for the 1678 statement produced. Beg M. Peyre to go there for a day or two, so that the statement can be completed." . . . . "The King particularly wishes the Cabinet des curiosités to be finished; hurry up Mallet and Gabriel[2] about this."

He must have detailed reports about everything from his son; and this astonishing man, with an infinity of other State affairs on his shoulders, finds time to deal with every item,

[1] *François* (1er) *Blondel;* "Directeur de l'Académie d'Architecture," and architect of the Porte Saint-Denis. (b. 1617; d. 1686.)

[2] The Gabriels were a great building family, both as designers and constructors, and their genealogy is somewhat complex. The "Gabriel" here mentioned by Colbert is "Jacques II" (the great architect-families of Chambiges, Du Cerceau, François, Gabriel, Blondel, and others are numbered like Royal dynasties), "maître-maçon du Roi et entrepreneur de ses bâtiments," who was the chief constructor of Versailles, and collaborated with the architects D'Orbay and Girardot. (b. 1637 ?; d. 1686.)

whether great or small. "The King is to see this evening a new design by M. Le Nostre,[1] made to hide the back of the new fountain," reports D'Ormoy, "He has seen the water-sprays on the Isle Royale, and has ordered Denis[2] to group some of them"; and, "M. Mansart[3] is not here yet; when he comes, I will ask him what sort of paving[4] he wants for the passages of the great wing. The sculptors have signed their agreements for the lead and pewter work of the Ball-room,[5] at the prices you allowed them; but Le Hongre[6] cannot do the little vases for 450 livres as you directed. The fact is that

[1] *André Le Nôtre;* the great garden architect, and designer of the gardens of Vaux, Versailles, and Les Tuileries. (b. 1613, d. 1700.)

[2] *C. Denis;* "architecte hydraulicien, commandant des fontaines et des eaux de la ville et des parcs de Versailles." (Bauchal.)

[3] *Jules-Hardouin Mansart* (b. 1646; d. 1708), member of another of the great French architect-families; designed the great North and South Wings, the Stables, the Chapel (his last work), and other portions of Versailles.

[4] A curious instance of the watch Colbert himself maintained over the details of expenditure. The marble paving of the Chapel was 1½ in. thick; but he is anxious for Mansart to sanction a thickness of 1 in. only, in the corridors of the new wing; "It is important, because the lackeys will be constantly in these passages."

[5] The "Galerie des Glaces."

[6] *Etienne Le Hongre* (b. 1628; d. 1690), sculptor of many delicate and beautiful pieces in the gardens.

although these vases are smaller, they are more elaborate than the large ones, for which we pay 550 livres; the low-relief 'bacchanales,' which surround them, require the greatest care."

This was in March 1682. The King was to take up his residence in two months' time, when the great wing—the "Aile du Midy"—would be swarming with courtiers, and retainers of every degree. The works were, it is clear, none too forward; and only an architect can fully realize the grasp of detail disclosed by Colbert's reply: "I have just heard," he says, "from D'Orbay,[1] about the marble squares. You must tell Misson that I wish him to do this paving at 80 or, at most, 85 livres; and that he is to begin carting this very day. Special attention must be taken with this work, or it will give us more trouble than all the rest. If Misson will not accept 85, you must give him 90 livres, rather than delay this contract for a single moment. Urge him, as I have said, to start delivering the squares to-day and tell Cognel to take good care they are of the full thickness of 18 lignes (one and a half inches). A written contract must be made with him in the

[1] *Jean D'Orbay* (b. 1634; d. 1699), brother of François (1er) D'Orbay, founder of another dynasty of architects, who constructed a great part of the buildings with Girardot and Jacques Gabriel.

course of this morning. You are to settle with M. Mansart which of the vestibules and passages may be laid with marble one-inch thick; and make a written contract for it with Lixe immediately, at 60 livres the toise, and order him, too, to work with the utmost diligence."

In another report, D'Ormoy writes, "Fontenelle is cleaning off the heads of the terminal figures. M. Le Brun[1] is here, finishing the gallery. He says he cannot find paintings at Paris, to replace those the King had removed from the two sides of his bed. Coysevox[2] is working hard to complete the carving in the Royal saloon, and promises that the scaffolding shall be cleared away by the end of the week. Desoziers promises that so much of the Chapel canopy as is here will be gilded by the end of next week." . . . "Baptiste,[3] the painter, has not brought the rest of his paintings for the doorways of the great wing." "Urge Gabriel to get forty

[1] *Charles Le Brun;* architect and painter, decorator of the Galerie des Glaces, and other parts of Versailles, and of the Galerie d'Apollon, at the Louvre. (b. 1619; d. 1690.)

[2] *Antoine Coysevox;* "sculpteur ordinaire du Roi. Directeur de l'Académie de peinture et de sculpture" (b. 1640; d. 1720), he executed many of the figures and decorative carvings of the gardens and buildings of the Palace. The winged horses and "Renommées," at the entrance to the Tuileries gardens, in the Place de la Concorde, are also from his chisel.

[3] *Jean-Baptiste Monnoyer* (b. 1635; d. 1699), the flower painter.

or fifty more men," replies Colbert. The palace buzzes like a hive, and we meet historic acquaintances at every turn.

* * *

The correspondence opens with a letter from D'Ormoy; "Following your orders, Sir, and very dear father," he writes on 20th October, 1679, "I had the honour of attending the King during his visit. His Majesty went through both the State and private Apartments, and into the Salle des Ambassadeurs, where he lunched. He has ordered me to have the latter room gilded and the Cabinet as well and to put his cypher in gold on the ceiling.

"To put tablets, for the names of the rooms, above the doors.

"To put marble chimney-pieces to the fireplaces. This is not urgent.

"On the Staircase, to have the basin of the fountain mended, which leaks on one side. I am writing M. Perrault to send Mazelines to repair it.

"To mend the broken windows of the Salon. I have ordered this.

"To open a communication door from the Ante-chamber of the Queen's Rooms of State to the Guard Room.

"In the Theatre: to arrange something to

conceal the woodwork which supports the steps. I have had a portion done, to show the King to-day."

Colbert adds approving notes. "The report you send me is very good. Remember how important it is that you should please the King and carry out his orders well. You must carry out all these orders at once, and look to it that the King finds his commands executed more promptly when he gives them to you, than when he gives them to others."

The following year (June 1680) things are less satisfactory, and his father warns him. "You must have by you the plans of all the buildings, whether finished or not, visit all the rooms, know for what use they are intended, and be much better informed about everything than the architects, inspectors, and contractors, so that the King may speak to you only, when he wants information." Next month there is a sharper note. "I am surprised that you should have left Sceaux yesterday morning without informing me. Mind this does not happen again, for I am obliged to repeat incessantly what you are to do."

The year after matters are still worse. "Everything you send me is so slovenly, and you continue to pay so little heed to the punctual and exact

execution of my orders, that I begin to despair of making anything of you," writes Colbert; "Instead of staying at Versailles, studying assiduously the workmen's reports and bills, making them out and recasting them as I showed you, and employing the rest of your time in perusing my instructions, checking accounts, making yourself thoroughly acquainted with every item of cost and, in short, doing innumerable things which would occupy you usefully and instructively, you come scampering up to Paris, without rhyme or reason,[1] and with nothing to do there; moreover, instead of giving your reports to my messenger, you allow him to go away, and send me a lackey. You may send as many as you please, not a man of them will be paid. . . . I know very well your wretched ingenuity will produce forty thousand excuses. But, though you may think to justify yourself, I will finish what I have unfortunately had to begin, and forbid anyone whatever to obey you, or pay any attention to what you say. You only serve to muddle the orders I give. . . God send you," he concludes wearily, "more sense and diligence."

[1] A certain "demoiselle de la Sale," who visited Versailles dressed as a man and, being caught, was sent by the King to a convent, could have explained his reasons.

D'Ormoy replies: "I have received, Monsieur mon très cher père, all the notes you have had the goodness to send me; I have read them all, and will carry out your orders in every detail"; and his father writes discontentedly in the margin, "Brief acknowledgments of this sort do not convince me that what I write has much effect on your mind."

Next day Colbert is really angry. "The King was amazed at the scrawl you sent me of the plan of Verrières forest; His Majesty remarked that the daub (saleté) was what might be expected of a schoolboy, but not of a responsible surintendant des bâtiments, who would put nothing before him but what was correct, and properly prepared. I return your precious plan. . . . Since you left, I notice that you rush hastily over the buildings, and my couriers always find you at Paris; in short, as regards keeping to your office and working, you are rather worse than you were before. If this goes on another week, I will stop it by taking away your carriage. Empty heads find nothing to do though work lies all around them. That is your character. . . . I see very clearly that I am not yet at an end of my troubles with you; but, you shall either amend, or suffer for it." And a few days later (19 August 1681) he writes pleadingly, "Think a little of the

pains I take to instruct you and write you long letters about matters you should attend to yourself."

The following February (1682), we find a quite excellent report of progress; nearly all the items being punctuated by Colbert with a "bon," followed by the injunction "Above all, get up before six o'clock in the morning." Content with his success, D'Ormoy complacently begins his next letter, "Yesterday morning I did a round of the buildings," and is forthwith pounced upon by the irascible Minister. "What do you mean by 'I did a round of the buildings'? I bid you stay all day at Versailles, count the workmen, and urge the masters to increase their numbers. I told you, besides, of many other things you had to do, whereof I can see that you have not done a single one. The fancy took you to run off to Paris in the morning, without telling me a word about all there is to do at Versailles to carry out the King's orders, and the instructions I have given you."

"Chapel: Scaffolding is removed," reports the unfortunate young man on another occasion, attempting a terse business style; "Dis-moy," snaps the precise Colbert, "who is to understand what you mean by this word 'Chapel'? You are thoroughly lazy, and will not even do your best

to write and speak correctly so that one may understand you."

D'Ormoy was quite unfitted for the arduous and highly technical position he had been given; and where Perrault had failed, it was hopeless that he should succeed. In spite of his father's threats, and entreaties—"Ce me seroit un grand plaisir si le Roy me disoit qu'il est content de toy," he says once, rather pathetically—matters became serious. The King was greatly dissatisfied, Louvois taking every occasion to damage Colbert and his family in his regard; and it became evident that D'Ormoy could not hope to secure the reversion of his father's title of "Surintendant des bâtiments du Roi," to which Colbert had destined him. In March 1682, he is reminded, in the course of a solemn warning, "It is now eight or ten days since the King told you to fence off the arcade of the Queen's staircase; you say you ordered it to be done, which is mere nonsense; it is for you to see that it is done. Mallet has heard nothing about it. Not a day passes without something of this sort happening and the King noticing it. . . . I tell you, you are a lost man, if all is not changed from black to white; and I tell you further that I perceive you to be so prodigiously idle, and your mind so little disposed to think and act as you should, that 'tis a miracle if you

reform. But, you will understand that, if the King compels me to give up your post, I shall be able to give you but 1,000 livres, instead of the 11,000 you have; and I shall do away with your horses, carriages and servants. You will then see the difference between a man who does his duty and one who does not. But it will be too late." He continues, and his tenderness is manifest, for all his bitter disappointment—"I formed great hopes for you, and told you my thoughts; but now, I see you on the edge of an abyss. You know, at any rate, that you did not lack my counsels." And therewith, this surprising parent and official resumes the list of works to be attended to, which these admonitions had interrupted.

In the same letter occurs a passage which shows us a day of D'Ormoy's life—as devised by his father—and enlightens us as to the actual duties pertaining to his post of "Contrôleur des bâtiments." "You will rise between five and six o'clock," writes Colbert (the following month he tells him to be up by half-past four!), "go at once to the works, see that the contractors are present, and count their men; never fail to inspect the work they are doing, and make sure that it is well and carefully executed. Spend two hours on this visit, hear what the workmen have

to say, take note of everything they need, and have it supplied forthwith. Then go to your office, and work for two or three hours, checking through all the notes of what there is to do; see that all is in order, examine, verify, and fix prices, and settle the accounts. After dinner, you must make another visit, inspect the works, and count the men. In the evening, study all the plans, look to the draughtsmen, go through your papers again, and classify them in the way I showed you."

For all his folly, the boy was warm-hearted, and was touched by his father's reproaches; "I beseech you with all my heart, my lord and very dear father," he replies to a further castigation, "to forget all the faults I have committed, and my want of duty, in the past. I acknowledge the justice of your wrath, and that no penalty is too severe for my errors; but consider, my lord and very dear father, what punishment it is to me to have angered so good a father; I protest to you with sincerity that I will entirely alter my conduct, and follow your orders exactly. I know well that, after so often making the same promise without keeping it, I ought not to expect you to believe me; but I hope that this time my actions will show you how earnestly I desire to amend." It was, as his father had foretold, too

late; and his commission as lieutenant in the regiment of Picardie was made out the same year. His military career—so we read with pleasure, even at this distant time—fully redeemed the errors of his light-hearted youth; and at the age of twenty-nine, he had already attained the rank of Lieutenant-General. After many adventures, the Marquis d'Ormoy et de Blainville was killed, as his two brothers had been killed before him, fighting with the greatest bravery, at the head of the same regiment which they had led.

Charles Perrault, occupied entirely with his poetry and critical literature since his retirement, had died quietly the year before (1702); surrounded by his children and friends, "indifférent aux honneurs et satisfait de sa fortune."

* * *

The star of Colbert was setting when he died, in 1683. Louis, his mind poisoned by Louvois, showed continual suspicion about the expenditure at Versailles; and it is to be feared that D'Ormoy's control of the accounts had, in fact, left something to be desired. The Venetian Ambassador relates that the King's reproaches were the immediate cause of the fever which carried him off; and this is probable enough, since he had been more than once in danger from similar attacks, arising from

a gouty and bilious temperament. There had certainly been a "scene"; the King criticizing the condition of the buildings, and complaining of the difficulties objected by Colbert with regard to money, while with Louvois "chose dite était chose faite"; even permitting himself the use of the word "knavery" (friponnerie). Be this as it may, the greatest "Surintendant des Bâtiments" France has ever had took to his bed, and expired a few days later. He died shamefully rich, and so detested by the people for his exactions that he was perforce buried by night; the funeral procession escorted by Archers of the Guard, for fear of unseemly tumult.

* * *

As for Louis,—Bunyan the tinker, lying in Bedford Jail, was writing the moral of all his magnificence, while the Palace of Versailles was still a-building. For the Interpreter (so he Dreamed), took Christian by the hand, and had him into a little Room; where sat two little Children, each one in his Chair; "Then I ſaw," says he, "that one came to *Paſſion*, and brought him a Bag of Treaſure, and poured it down at his feet; the which he took up, and rejoyced therein; and withall, laughed *Patience* to ſcorn: But I beheld but a while, and he

had laviſhed it all away, and had nothing left him but Raggs."

One more Louis was to complete a troubled reign; the next, a prisoner in the Temple, must beg raiment from his captors; and his Queen, lacking even sufficient rags, must cast about her shoulders the kerchief of her gaoler's serving-maid, that she might go with decency upon her death-journey.

16 October 1793

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL EPILOGUE.

Such monumental works as Clément's "Lettres, Instructions, et mémoires de Colbert," his "Histoire de la Vie et de l'administration de Colbert," Guiffrey's "Comptes des Bâtiments du Roi, 1664–1715," and the inestimable volumes of Ernest Lavisse, are open to every reader; to say nothing of the writings of the thousand authors, contemporary and modern, erudite and otherwise, who buzz like flies around the savoury historic times of Louis XIV. But, there lie upon my table, two little Books—rare enough to warm the bibliophile heart when found, delightful to look upon, and containing matters of excellent interest—which may be especially commended to those who love the historical aspect of Paris architecture (even though their affection recoils from technical detail); with the hope, unlikely of a large fulfilment, that they may taste them in the form their authors deemed most fitting for their work. A reprint has never the choice flavour of an original edition; the aroma is lacking, and the matter has become flat information

The first of my booklets is the Avignon Edition of the "Mémoires de Charles Perrault," bearing the date of 1759; in which year it was first published by Pierre Patte, the architect, who contributed the foot-notes. This edition, reprinted by Paul Lacroix (Bibliophile Jacob) in the "Bibliothèque d'Elite" (1842) and again in the "Librairie des Bibliophiles" (1878), is noted by him as "very rare." The original manuscript, written by Perrault for his children, and not intended for publication, has long disappeared. The Memoirs, with their simple and intimate style,

bring us into close touch with the author of the "Contes de Fées," the immortal work which he published under the name of his son Perrault Darmancour, a child ten years of age. Although Lacroix's assertion that "these little memoirs are the only ones of the kind which the century of Louis XIV has left us," is true in but a limited sense, they are of unique value, and the very best of reading.

The second book which lies at my hand is a tiny duodecimo, which, shedding its "veau ancien" in the course of a long life, has passed through the hands of an owner who, for his virtues, has doubtless attained Paradise. By him it has been treated with the reverence due to such aristocracy of literature, and reclothed in calf; this time austerely "blind-tooled," save for delicate corner rosettes, as to the exterior, but having within (for his private delectation) a dainty gilt-tooled border to set off the ancient end-papers. This work—"La Vie de Jean-Baptiste Colbert Ministre d'Etat sous Louys XIV Roy de France. A Cologne M.DC.XCV" (twelve years after Colbert's death)—is, like the first I have mentioned, anonymous; and the original edition very scarce. The author was Gatien Sandras de Courtilz, who has also to his name the "Testament politique de M. de Louvois," and the "Intrigues amoureuses de la France"; the latter a topic of perennial interest. Though the frank remarks of Gatien upon certain aspects of Colbert's career have provoked bitter criticism, he is, as Clément rightly observes, by no means an unsympathetic biographer, not lacking in his admiration for the greater qualities of the Minister, and his untiring devotion to his Royal Master's business. His appreciation, on the other hand,

displays a sense of balance and perspective, the more remarkable for his actual nearness to the events he discusses. The work contains many curious anecdotes of Colbert, and records his doings in connection with those vast building schemes which completed the financial ruin of the country—impoverished by continuous wars—and hastened the wreck of the Bourbon dynasty. The shadow of the Revolution looms always imminent athwart the pages which tell the glories of Louis's reign, and the sonorous odes which exalt his immortality evoke the echo of Shirley's lines :—

"Sceptre and Crown
Must tumble down,
And in the dust be equal made
With the poor crooked scythe and spade."

As soon as it appeared, this work of Gatien de Courtilz was republished in England as, "The LIFE of the Famous *John Baptist Colbert* late minister and secretary of STATE to LEWIS XIV, the Present *French* King—Done into *English* from a *French* copy printed at *Cologne* this present year 1695"; a translation which is almost as scarce as the original. I may add, for those who have not access to the originals, that the little book was reprinted, *verbatim*, in the "Archives curieuses de l'histoire de France" (2e serie). The correspondence of Colbert and D'Ormoy is published as an annex to "Un fils de Colbert," by Pierre Margry (Paris–1873); wherein will be found the history of D'Ormoy's tragical private life, and his noble ardour in the King's service.

ARCHITECTURAL PRINCIPLES IN ENGINEERING

SOMERSET HOUSE.
The River Front.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL H. F. THUILLIER, C.B., C.M.G., AND THE OFFICERS OF THE SCHOOL OF MILITARY ENGINEERING, CHATHAM.

YOUR request that I should address you on a technical subject implied a compliment, of which I beg you to accept this expression of my high appreciation. The French, a logical race, have but one word ("génie") for both "genius" and "military engineering." Civil engineers they do not thus identify with "genii"—the tutelary deities; these, it would seem, take their origin from the "ingeniosi," an able and clever, but according to Aristotle a somewhat atrabilious folk, "omnes ingeniosos melancholicos." I am therefore gratified to remember that we architects may claim a cognate parentage with you. That great sapper, Marshal Vauban, was, I may remind you, also an architect; and military architecture—such as Wren's "Hospital" at Greenwich, and Gabriel's "Ecole Militaire"—has furnished some of our finest achievements in design. More remotely in our common history, we find

the architect Mandrocles of Samos bridging the Bosporus for the army of Darius, and erecting two columns of white marble to commemorate the event; painting, moreover, a picture of the army crossing, with Darius upon his throne watching them. We remark with pride (and some private disquiet) the prodigious attainments of this our ancestor, and commend him as an ensample—to our students. It is satisfactory to learn from Herodotus that the king rewarded him with "ten of everything," a much better percentage than any of us are paid nowadays, and we note it as an excellent precedent. Now, in our own time, the traditional association of the two professions is continued. Architects have been privileged to share the duty, the dangers, and the glory of the Royal Engineers in the Great War. Henceforward their profession is marked as the natural recruiting ground for Engineer officers when occasion shall arise.

JOHN W. SIMPSON.

ARCHITECTURAL PRINCIPLES IN ENGINEERING

THE popularity of Lectures and Public Speeches is beyond question. Many people — perhaps most—acquire information more readily by the aural sense than by the visual; a fact not without relation to the subject of this essay. Some there are, nevertheless, afflicted with a too cautious apprehension, who can get no good of learning but from books and observation. Cat-like, they hesitate fastidiously at offered morsels of knowledge which the nobler canine intelligence accepts with confidence. I confess myself of their number. If a speaker interests me, my attention is arrested by some new view presented, some apparent inconsistency with a previous statement, which sets agoing a divergent train of thought. By the time I have savoured the suggestion, or reconciled the discrepancy, my instructor is already several sentences ahead, and

I have lost the thread of his discourse. If he is dull, so too am I; my mind takes on a torpid inactivity. In neither case is justice done to the teaching. Again,—a lecture, unless it form but part of a series on one subject, is apt to be rather an intensive form of culture. The work of a lifetime, of a period, is compressed within the limits of an hour's delivery—a kind of pemmican of information—so that the listener absorbs several intellectual meals at one sitting, to the peril of his mental digestion. It is for these reasons that I have ventured to record in printed form the substance of my Address to the Royal Engineers. They, and perhaps others, may thus peruse and criticize it at their leisure.

* * *

A VAST curiosity has always prevailed among intelligent persons as to how fine architecture is produced; and writers of all time have responded, and are still responding, to their demand in masses of literature. Yet the trick remains undisclosed; possibly for the sufficient reason that there is none. Vitruvius, writing on the subject some twenty-five years before the Christian era, gives a quite considerable bibliography of works then already existing, from which he derived materials for his

own ten books. The titles of his first two chapters, "What Architecture is; and of the Education of an Architect," and "Of those things on which Architecture depends," cover, indeed, the whole field we are proposing to explore, though I fear their contents leave its mystery still unsolved. While it is true that "Architecture is a science arising out of many sciences, and adorned with much and varied learning"; that "Practice and theory are its parents"; and that an architect should be "ingenious and apt in the acquisition of knowledge, a good writer, a skilful draftsman, versed in geometry and optics, expert at figures, acquainted with history, informed on the principles of natural and moral philosophy, somewhat of a musician, not ignorant of the sciences both of law and physic, nor of the motions, laws, and relations to each other of the heavenly bodies";— we have to reconcile these facts with the Psalmist's reminder that "the days of our years are three score years and ten." Personally, I do not expect to complete my studies in that time. Again, it does not greatly advance our present inquiry to be told that "Architecture depends on fitness (ordinatio) and arrangement (dispositio) . . . it also depends on proportion, uniformity, consistency, and economy, which the Greeks call OIKONOMIA"; and that it "consists of three branches, namely,

building, dialling, and mechanics." The fact is that, for all its basic science, architectural design is not altogether unconnected with æsthetics; and—finding some difficulty in converting metaphysical ideas into formulæ—writers have sought to simplify its practice by reducing it to a series of rules. Vignola and his sixteenth-century contemporaries came near to making the whole art a matter of cut-and-dried archæological forgery; a "hortus siccus," as a brilliant Frenchman has called it. The "Order," of unknown antiquity, was already split into five sections; a purely empirical proceeding, since its conception is single and common to all trabeate forms of construction, whether of stone or of wooden origin. Each section was now standardized, and sealed patterns established of the "Five Orders of Architecture," governed by the accursed "module"—an esoteric scale of proportions which takes no account either of actual size or of surroundings. Rigid rules were laid down for the use of columns, their spacing, and the relation of one "Order" to another; for the size and form of their mouldings, their enrichments, the projection of their cornices, and the pedestals "proper" to each class of column. Bound in these fetters of quackery, it is not surprising that "classic" architecture lost its elastic freedom of expression,

and became a mere convention; a science of numbers, of fixed geometrical patterns.

The "Gothic revival" came as a reaction from this stereotyped repetition, but was itself soon involved in the coils of the archæological python. It was classified in "styles," and the inevitable geometrician, eager to discover the mechanics of its charm, invoked the triangle and circle to that end—without much success. Mathematicians in all ages—Leonardo da Vinci in Italy, with his "sectio divina," Fechner, Edward Cresy, Dr. Lund the Swede, reviving anew the discussion in his "Ad Quadratum," the ingenuous American Jay Hambidge, with his theory of "dynamic symmetry"—have sought indefatigably to trace the figured horoscope of beauty; to trap her within rectangles or "whirling squares"; to pin her down with definitions. And always she evades their spells; intangible, mysterious, marking with her touch a few buildings in each century, and inspiring one designer here, one there, to equal or surpass them in the next.

I do not propose to trouble you with the writings of metaphysicians; Addington Symonds with his theory of successive cycles, and the psycho-social evolution of architecture; the now fashionable Benedetto Croce and others. You are probably familiar with them, and, if not, I

can recommend them to you as extremely interesting, and inconclusive. From such writings arose the confusion of art with morality, the work of certain periods being extolled as orthodox, and any variations therefrom denounced as heretical. Agitated clergymen went around their churches examining the exact profiles of mouldings to make sure they were not of a "debased" kind. Questions of "right" and "wrong" were seriously debated, and buildings were judged by standards of "purity" and "impurity." Many excellent works have thus been destroyed, or "restored" to death, by moral fanatics.

All this had nothing to do with architecture, which can neither be crushed into the Procrustean bed of Mathematics, nor tested by the tenets of sophistical heresy-hunters. It is a living art, fed by the imagination of designers ; never more alive than at the present time. But the technical jargon evolved by the priestcraft of æsthetic morality served to render the art of building mysterious, to veil it from the people ; and effectually discouraged any desire on their part to be familiar with it. The British have no love for learning strange languages. Moreover, they are very nice-minded ; very diffident, too, of exposing their ignorance. Finding themselves confronted with a mass of disputatious dogma, which no one

had the courage to tell them was really foolish convention, they decided it was better not to form—or, at any rate, not to publicly express—any opinion, lest they should discover that they had been admiring something quite improper, immoral, debased. Contemporary architecture ceased to interest the public, the Royal Institute existed only as a small and exclusive body of dilettanti, until, some forty years ago, Norman Shaw within the Academy, and, outside it, such artists as Philip Webb, Alexander Thomson of Glasgow, and Eden Nesfield, showed that buildings may breathe the spirit of the past without being stylistic copies, that beauty in architecture is not other in quality than that which inspires all fine art. I do not hesitate to attribute to these men that revival of architecture in Great Britain, of which we ought to-day to be more proud than we are.

If only you will dismiss the idea that architecture is a dead language, and realize that it is the speech of everyday life, you will find no difficulty in understanding its principles. If you purpose to compose great works in the language, you must prepare yourself by learning its grammar, the derivations of the words you employ, their synonyms, and the technical apparatus of literature. But you may understand and enjoy the

spoken and written word, may grasp the author's meaning, and compare his work quite intelligently with that of other authors, yet know and care very little about the technics of etymology or syntax.

This, on one condition. You must take the trouble to listen to, or read, what is said. So with architecture; you must look at buildings. The perception of beauty is atrophied in most people for lack of exercise. "Having eyes they see not, neither"—naturally enough—"do they understand." The essential condition for understanding all works of art, buildings, pictures, or what-not, is observation;—which implies comparison. "Our minds should be habituated to the contemplation of excellence."

But are there, then, no principles, no "principia," on which the art of architecture is based? Certainly there are. As Sir Joshua Reynolds has pointed out, "it cannot be by chance that excellencies are produced with any constancy or any certainty; for this is not the nature of chance." The principles of architecture are rigorous, inviolable. Their application to any given problem of building is, on the other hand, subject to infinite variation, a matter of individual judgment, of the artist's instinct.

In considering these principles I would beg you to clear your mind of the prevalent idea that

architecture consists of columns, pediments, cornices, and mouldings. These are not architecture, but its accessories, its clothing. I want to direct your attention to the qualities of the figure, not of the ornaments which set it off. You may dress an ugly woman beautifully; but the mode you admire to-day you reject to-morrow, while a beautiful woman is the same in all ages.

* * *

To the production of a fine work of architecture go three essentials. Plan—the strategic disposition of the whole conception; Scale—the relation of the parts to the whole; and, Construction. Of these essentials the greatest is Plan, of which the lines appear implacably throughout the design of a building. Just as a perfect skeleton is necessary to a beautiful body, so can no fine building be composed on an imperfect, an ill-conceived plan. As regards the third essential, Construction, it need not occupy us for the moment, save as it may be incidental to Plan and Scale.

Let me postulate that "Plan" is not to be thought of as a mere complex of lines indicating the relative positions of rooms or parts of a building. It is the framework on which the whole composition is woven; and as it forms itself under

the architect's hand, he conceives its expression in cubic form. Study of the plane distribution of his design—the horizontal section—suggests to him correlative vertical sections; and the twin concept dictates, and is expressed by, the main lines of the external façades. Planning is thus a triple and concurrent mental process, which evolves, step by step, a complete image of the architectural scheme. It is better expressed by its French equivalent of "composition."

Now we can enunciate definite principles to be observed in Plan design. First,—*It must be an architectural solution of all the conditions of the problem presented.*

The architect, or the engineer, does not, and should not, settle these conditions. That is the function of the employer, whether private or public. If he is unable to formulate them, as is not seldom the case, it is the duty of the architect to assist him with his experience and advice. It has been well said that "Alone of the fine arts, architecture subserves utility"; and the first and chief duty of the artist who practises it is to ascertain, and provide, what his client wants. If impossibilities are demanded, or if he is unable to reconcile the programme of requirements with his artistic conscience, his course is clear, and he must decline the commission.

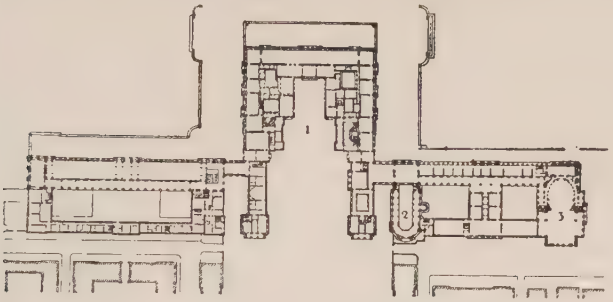

Fig. 1.—PLAN OF VERSAILLES.
Royal Ceremonial Motive.
1.—Royal Apartments and Entrance Court. 2.—Chapel. 3.—Theatre.

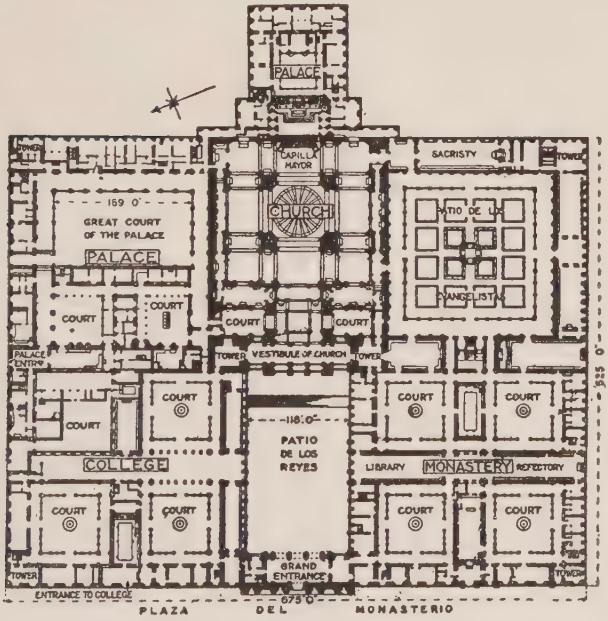

Fig. 2.—PLAN OF THE ESCURIAL.
Religious Ceremonial Motive.

Second,—*The Plan must be logically ordered.*

Primary and secondary points of interest must be clearly defined, and distributed according to their relative importance. Their selection is sometimes a matter for anxious deliberation, at others almost obvious. They must always be intelligibly expressed by the composition. Communications, both horizontal—such as passages and corridors,—and vertical—such as staircases and lifts—must be direct, and economically proportioned to the total area of the plan. Full advantage must be taken of the emplacement; a building should stand as if moulded to its particular site.

Figs. 1 & 2

Third,—*It must be based on simple structural conditions.*

Compliance with this principle may be tested as the composition proceeds, by constant reference to the roof plan. If the roof is simple in form, the rainwater readily disposed of without resorting to internal gutters, and the principals regularly spaced over piers, there is not much amiss structurally. If, too, the construction is sound, there will be little difficulty about the admission of sufficient light to the interior. Small enclosed lighting areas (save such as may be devised to special ends, the seclusion of sanitary offices, of unsightly piping, and the like) are always

BEAUVAIS CATHEDRAL.

TEMPLE OF POSEIDON, PÆSTUM.

a mark of faulty constructional planning, and sky-lights (unless vertical light be needed—as, for example, in a laboratory or exhibition gallery) are the last refuge of destitute invention. Internal Courts of proper proportions fall, of course, within another category, and their walls are really external façades.

Although the introduction of steel and concrete construction has given us greater freedom with regard to spans and thicknesses than was possible when brick, stone, and timber were the materials employed, I need hardly remind you that the principles of construction are unchanged, and may be demonstrated with the simple elements of a child's "box of bricks." But I may point out that it is æsthetically necessary not only that construction should be sound, but that it should appear to be so. A structure that looks unstable will not please the observant eye, however ingeniously its engineer may have resolved its stresses and moments. The basis of ocular satisfaction is, moreover, by no means constant; the criterion we apply mentally to the delicate shafting and flying buttresses of Beauvais is quite other than that by which we judge the Temples of Pæstum. Nor is this wholly a matter of place, or of style; time also changes it. Those who rode, forty or fifty years ago, upon tall bicycles with

Pl. IV

wheels some five feet in diameter, will remember the unceasing efforts of makers to comply with the demand for extreme lightness of appearance. The narrower the rim of the wheel, the more delicate the spokes, the greater was the "elegance" of the machine, according to the standards of the time. The advent of the "safety" bicycle, with its pneumatic tyres, revolutionized not only the mechanics of the structure, but the scale of sizes which satisfied the eye. Then, the heavy wheel was deemed clumsy and disproportioned; now, it is accepted as normal, and our taste rejects the "spider" type as flimsy. In like manner we may anticipate that, as buildings of reinforced concrete become familiar, we shall accept with satisfaction far more attenuated proportions, in points of support, than those which the eye now instinctively requires.

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* *

Every great Plan[1] is founded on compromise. Sound construction demands that the various stories of an edifice shall, as regards arrangement, be generally alike in their main lines; piers, walls, and openings, succeeding one another in vertical apposition. As, therefore, the composi-

[1] Using the word in the sense, already indicated, of "composition."

tion develops it becomes necessary constantly to adjust sections, façades, and horizontal distribution, one to another; exchanging values, borrowing, sacrificing them if need be. Such mutual concessions increase the sum of excellence, for in all creative art the subordination of individual parts to the whole composition is essential to fine achievement. Over-emphasis of some particular feature in a design, thus destroying its general equilibrium, is one of the most common causes of failure. It is hardly paradoxical to affirm that if, when in perplexity, an author be convinced that some one part of the work he is composing is especially good, he should straightway efface it. There lies, in all probability, the radical fault.

Simplicity is the soul of Plan. However rich and complex be the detail of a composition, that quality must still be supreme. Now the human mind is so constituted that its first suggestions for meeting difficulties are always ingenious and elaborate; simplicity is arrived at by elimination of the superfluous. "These papers are too long-winded," says witty Chesterton in one of his prefaces; "I feel frightfully annoyed with myself for not getting to the point more quickly; but I had not enough leisure to be quick." So it is with a Plan. If it appears to be a merely obvious solution of the problem set, to show no trace of

obstacles surmounted, you may be assured that it is the result of that taking of infinite pains which is akin to genius. The old tag, "Ars est celare artem," asserts a vital truth. Fine Planning is the ultimate accomplishment of the trained architect, and admiration of its "cleverness" is the most deadly criticism that can be applied to it, as to any work of art.

* * *

The second essential to fine architecture is Scale. I have called it the relation of the parts to the whole. But though that is true so far as it goes, it is, like most definitions, only a half-truth; for Scale implies relation also to purpose and surroundings. Hence my disparagement of the "module" as a basis of proportion, since, being independent of Scale, it remains unchanged whether the Plan be for His Imperial Majesty's palace at Lilliput, where the main courtyard gates were seven inches wide, or for that of the King of Brobdingnag, whose rooms were two hundred and forty feet high. The Scale of our buildings is governed, as was theirs, by that of the beings who occupy them, pass through their doors and gates, ascend their staircases, and look out of their windows. If we observe this scale, our work will not be much at variance with that

of its surroundings, since human beings are admirably proportioned to the size of the world they inhabit, and to its features. They are able, with the help of contrivances on their own scale, to traverse it in every direction, to climb its highest pinnacles, swim in its water and air, and presently will, no doubt, find means of exploring its centre. Yet it is easy to conceive of a world so small that beings of our stature could get no adequate foothold upon it; or so vast, not only in size, but in scale, that communication between distant groups of people would be as impossible as between cheese-mites in London and in Sydney.

Architectural proportions are, moreover, derived from those of the human figure not only by reason of the external influences I have mentioned, but because the body—being, as we are pleased to consider, the most perfect of organic forms—is the touchstone by which we test the quality of all structural beauty. That these proportions are variable is obvious, since no two individuals are alike; and for this reason it seems clear that they cannot be reduced to any mathematical or geometrical formula, whether the "root five" rectangle, or another. Nor would discussion of such a possibility serve our present purpose; for, though you may be able to apply an abstract

principle to a fine building—probably half a dozen will fit it, more or less—it is certain that you cannot reverse the process, and evolve a fine building from an abstract principle.

Scale is the most subtle of all the qualities which go to make fine architecture. Almost impossible to define, it implies a delicate perception of fitness—inspiration, if you like. It depends not at all upon size; a palace and a labourer's cottage may be alike perfect in scale; or the cottage may be larger in scale than the palace. It is altered by circumstances; a statue in the sculptor's studio may be colossal in scale, yet in its appointed position be most delicate. A post six inches square is big in scale; add to it a moulded cap and base and it becomes a diminutive column. The two porticoes of the Theatre of Marcellus and of the Far-
Fig. 3 nese Palace are striking examples of differing scale, though almost identical in their composition.

There are, nevertheless, certain canons of architectural proportion—I will not call them principles—which it is useful to bear in mind.

* * *

The elements with which an architect composes his structures are few, and very simple,

though they lend themselves to infinite variations of arrangement. They are, in fact, but three;—Walls, the vertical enclosures and divisions of

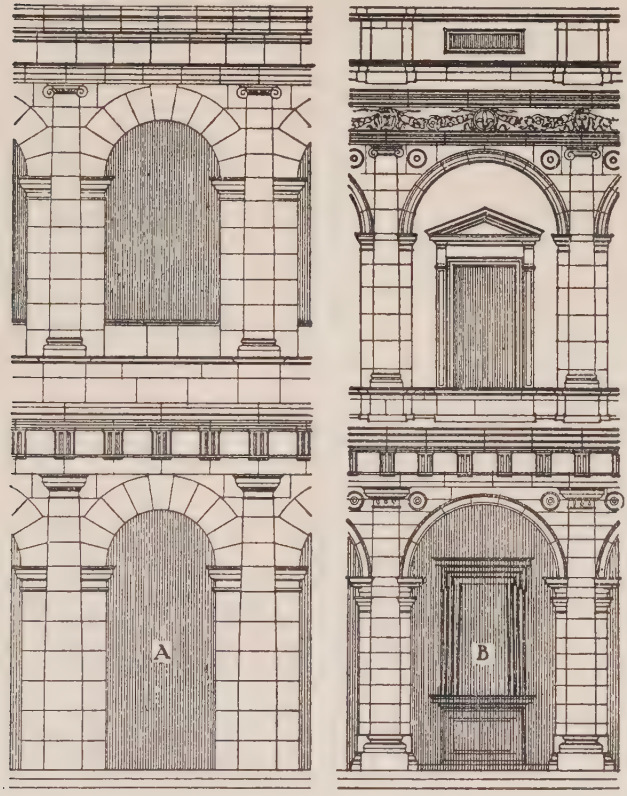


Fig. 3.

A.—THEATRE OF MARCELLUS
B.—COURT OF THE FARNESE PALACE.
Two porticoes of similar composition but of differing scale.

the building;—Floors, its horizontal divisions; and, Roofs or coverings. The form, assemblage, and decoration of these elements constitute his design.

Walls are the first, the governing, element of composition, and their disposition in the plan—or horizontal section—is a matter for the most anxious consideration. They resolve themselves into two factors of equal importance in design; "voids," or openings, such as windows, doors, and intervals; and "solids," which may be either continuous wall, piers, or columns. These latter are all "supporting" features, and the fact must be never absent from the designer's mind. Upon the form, distribution, and relation one to another, of the voids and solids depend the scale, proportion, and sound construction of the whole building. They must be considered *pari passu* with the general arrangement of the vertical sections; the method, too frequently adopted, of making a "plan" and afterwards trying to fit "elevations" to it, is absolutely unsound. The composition must be developed from the beginning as an ordinance of solids and voids. Architecture is no mere ornamentation which can be applied to an unsatisfactory structure in order to beautify it. It is either inherent to the composition, or irremediably absent.

In the distribution of voids and solids should

be observed the canons to which I have referred. The number of openings in a group should, for instance, be uneven; a central pier or column is rarely agreeable. If, therefore, you find yourself faced with a bay of four voids, bring the two middle openings together as a single central feature; if with six, group them as three pairs. Better still, adjust your internal dispositions, avoid the difficulty, and take care to make your central void wider than those flanking it, even if the difference be but small.[1]

Consecutive repetition of a motive tends to sobriety of design. The unbroken colonnades and entablatures of the Greek and Roman temples, the repeated bays of similar design which compose the Colosseum and kindred structures, reflect the grave dignity of the States that built them. Modern compositions fail, for the most part, by too frequent interruptions of interest; by a too

[1] It should be observed that, when an identical arrangement of voids and solids is repeated consecutively, insomuch that the eye does not readily detect whether the true centre is a void or a solid, observance of the canon may be disregarded. The flanking colonnades of regular hexastyle and octastyle temples were often (though not always) composed of an uneven number of columns. Two really notable exceptions to the general rule are the porticoes of the temple (basilica) at Pæstum, which had nine columns; and that of Zeus Olympus at Agrigentum, which had seven. It is curious that there were central voids in the flanking colonnades of both these compositions.

profuse emphasis—own brother to expletive—which destroys architectural rhythm. Very slight variations of treatment suffice to accentuate parts of a design; a trifling difference in height, the breaking of a cornice line, a stronger contrast of light and shade. The river-front of Somerset House is an object-lesson in such effective re-

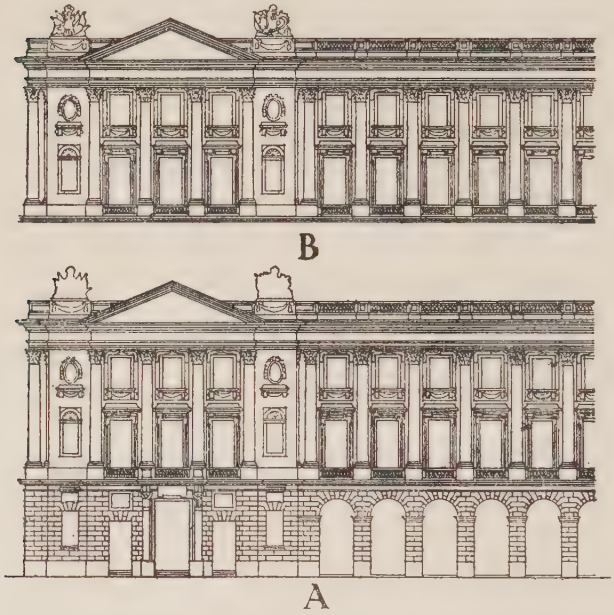


Fig. 4.—MINISTRY OF MARINE, PLACE DE LA CONCORDE, PARIS. J. A. GABRIEL, ARCHITECT, 1761–1770.

A.—Design as executed, showing relative vertical proportions at upper colonnade and supporting arcade.

B.—The Colonnade shown as a single story composition, with consequent alteration of the apparent proportions.

straint. A plain stone wall, with severe rectangular windows, forms a tranquil background which gives full value to the long stretch of building whose centre is marked by a colonnaded opening, to give sharper light and shade, and modest superstructure. In the wings, the same colonnade motive is repeated, this time without projection, and varied by a pediment, which, however, does not obtrude by breaking the sky-line. Pl. III

Horizontal division of a vertical surface or opening, at half its height, is nearly always irritating, for the eye declines to accept the apparent equality without challenge. Either the upper or the lower portion should therefore be distinctly greater than the other; in Gabriel's buildings (for instance) in the Place de la Concorde, the relation of the colonnaded upper portion to the supporting arcade, is as 3 to 2. Perhaps for the same reason a roof slope of 45 deg.—halving the vertical and the horizontal—is generally unpleasing. Fig. 4A

As a general rule the main lines of a composition should be in contrast with those of its surroundings. The Greek temples, nearly always in hilly country, were rigorously horizontal in form; and no group of buildings has ever been so perfectly adapted to its setting as that which

crowns the Athens Acropolis. In our own time we find happy illustrations of this canon in the treatment by Elmes of St. George's Hall at the summit of the Liverpool acclivity, and in that by Norman Shaw in his beautiful little hill church at Ilkley. Vertical lines, on the other hand, suggest themselves in flat localities. The lofty towers of the Low Countries, and the tapering spires of our Eastern Counties, are instances in point.

Unity of scale should be preserved throughout a composition. Stonehenge cannot be fitly combined with Amiens Cathedral. A notable instance of discrepancy is that of Saint Stephen's Hall, which, skilfully though the architect has incorporated it with the Houses of Parliament, is larger in scale than the buildings surrounding it. I am not criticizing the treatment in this case; the propriety of thus distinguishing the ancient monument from the modern work is indisputable.

Proportions are affected by their adjuncts, and are altered in scale by change of position. The happy effect of the colonnade of Gabriel's well-known building above referred to depends on its relation to the openings of the lower story. If it stood upon the ground its spacings would be too wide, and the whole composition
Fig. 4B would take another scale. As designed, the

eye appreciates the vertical supports as beginning at the ground level, insomuch that were it not for the arcaded treatment of the lower portion, which leads the eye from pier to pier, the height of the voids would appear excessive in relation to their width.

Designers in all ages have realized that, in execution, certain adjustments of rectilinear forms are required in order to correct optical illusion. A slight camber, for example, (not so great as to be apparent) must be given to the lintel of an opening, and to horizontal lines generally, if long and unbroken. The tapering of a column is no mere convention; if there were not such a diminution the upper portion would seem to be of greater diameter than the lower; the tapering, moreover, must be effected by gently swelling lines ("entasis"). Vertical supports, such as columns, must have their axis-lines inclined inward, lest they seem to lean outward; and those at the external angles of a structure need to be really larger than those intermediate, lest they appear smaller. Such scientific refinements, and the measures necessary to give them due effect, have been closely examined by many writers. It is useful to remember that dark-coloured materials tend to apparent reduction of bulk, while those of light colour give it full effect.

You may have remarked that ladies of too generous proportions usually dress in black.[1]

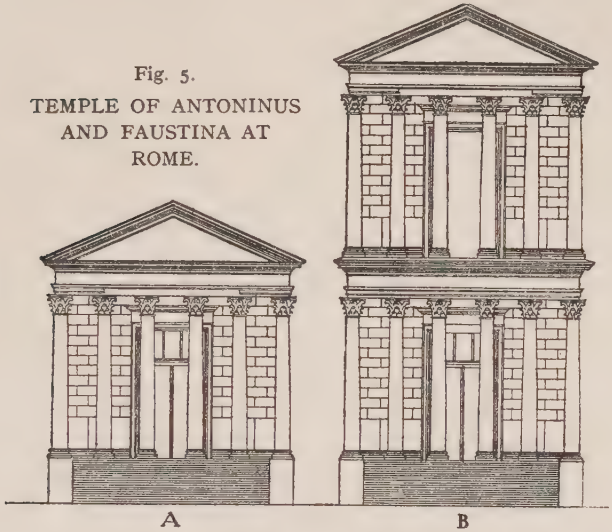
Two more canons. First,—the scale of a com-
Fig. 5 position should diminish from below upwards. As in the case of the diminished column, the upper part will otherwise be, apparently, the heavier. Second,—the more numerous the points of support, the narrower should be the inter-
Fig. 6 vening voids, if of equal widths. But, if their widths are unequal—as, for instance, where columns or piers are coupled, thus introducing an intermediate narrow void—the greater voids may be increased in width. The reason for this
Pl. V being optically satisfactory is partly structural, the mass of the solid supports having been increased in size; but the eye seems also to relate each main opening to its own pair of columns, and to regard the design as a series of two-column compositions.

Another canon in composition is that masses in light should be kept simple and broad, and enrichment given to the portions in shade. Never hesitate to elaborate recessed features, such as the openings behind a projecting arcade. In the bed mouldings of cornices, and the frieze immediately

[1] It may be added that vertical lines tend to diminish apparent thickness, and horizontal to increase it. While ladies' stockings are ornamented by vertical stripes, or "clocks," men affect a horizontal ring of "turnover" to theirs. The delicacy of columns is enhanced by the vertical grooves of "fluting."

below them, ornament tends to give transparency to the shadow cast by the projecting members. The contours of mouldings have each their individuality, some reflecting light, others holding shadow, and their qualities vary according to both their actual and their relative positions.

Fig. 5.
TEMPLE OF ANTONINUS AND FAUSTINA AT ROME.



A.—As designed. B.—Showing that the superposition of an order of equal height gives the appearance of greater height to the upper story.

Fig. 6.—SPACINGS OF SOLIDS AND VOIDS.

They should never be introduced without a clear purpose; to accentuate a feature, to soften too harsh an outline, to preserve scale.

Carved ornament and sculpture place in the designer's hand unlimited power of emphasis, from delicate suggestion to dramatic violence. Their introduction into his composition is matter for the highest artistry, not to be taught. But if he be not sure of his skill, let him be at the least discreet (remembering that where one building has been glorified by decoration fifty have been ruined thereby) and employ ornament with reticence; to achieve a definite effect not otherwise obtainable. All sculptured work on a building invites attention—and must justify it.

Let the chief masses of your composition be simple in their form, and the general motive of the design such as may be readily apprehended. A confused and broken silhouette tends to destroy breadth of design and to weaken all secondary effects. But give your imagination full play in the details within the main outline.

Originality is not to be found by seeking. It will come spontaneously from the honest study and fulfilment of the conditions which dictate the structural arrangement. Nor will it avail you to strive after the picturesque. That quality results from seizing on happy accident, and turning it to

PERRAULT'S COLONNADE AT THE LOUVRE.

Showing increased spacing where columns are coupled.

your account. You cannot invent accidents; they must occur. Remark, that in every design there must be found some known forms or features by which the composition may be interpreted and recognized.[1] Tradition must be preserved; it cannot be evaded, though it may be debased by imperfect knowledge. Therefore study well the masterpieces of antiquity; "always imitating, and always original," as Sir Joshua said of Raffaelle.

Like all rules of art, the canons I have indicated are elastic, and examples are plentiful of their disregard by great artists. Yet it is well to remember that you cannot be freed from a law unless you have first been bound by it. I have been asked to explain the principles of architecture in engineering, and have tried to show you that the principles of architecture are identical with those of engineering, of all well-planned, honest building. It should not be hard for engineers to understand the work of architects, for both speak much the same craft-language. In architecture this language is tuned to poetry, to the expression of construction in measured cadence, inspired, it may be—immortal even—

[1] "Recognition is, in fact," as a writer in "The Times" has pointed out, "a chief agent in our psychological pleasures; the emotional reaction is neutral or unpleasant if the stimulus come from the unknown."

should divine Athene touch it. If you ask how this inspiration may be invoked, the answer is clear. There is but one way to win the favours of a goddess,—you must make sacrifices to her. Nor shall you, nor those of your time, know if they are accepted; the granting of such prayers is the heritage of those who come long after the suppliant is gone,—forgotten, it may be.

TOWN-PLANNING IN THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

(*REMARKS on the "PLAN DES ARTISTES"*)

THE PLAN DES ARTISTES, AS RECONSTITUTED, 1889

REFERENCES

RIGHT BANK.

Bd. A. BOULEVARD DE LA MADELAINE.
Bd. B. BOULEVARD DE LA CHAUSSÉE D'ANTIN.
Bd. C. BOULD. MONTMARTRE.
Bd. D. BOULEVARD POISSONNIÈRE.
Bd. E. BOULD. SAINT DENIS.
Bd. F. BOULD. SAINT MARTIN.
Bd. G. BOULD. DU TEMPLE.
Bd. H. BOULEVARD DE LA PORTE ST. ANTOINE.

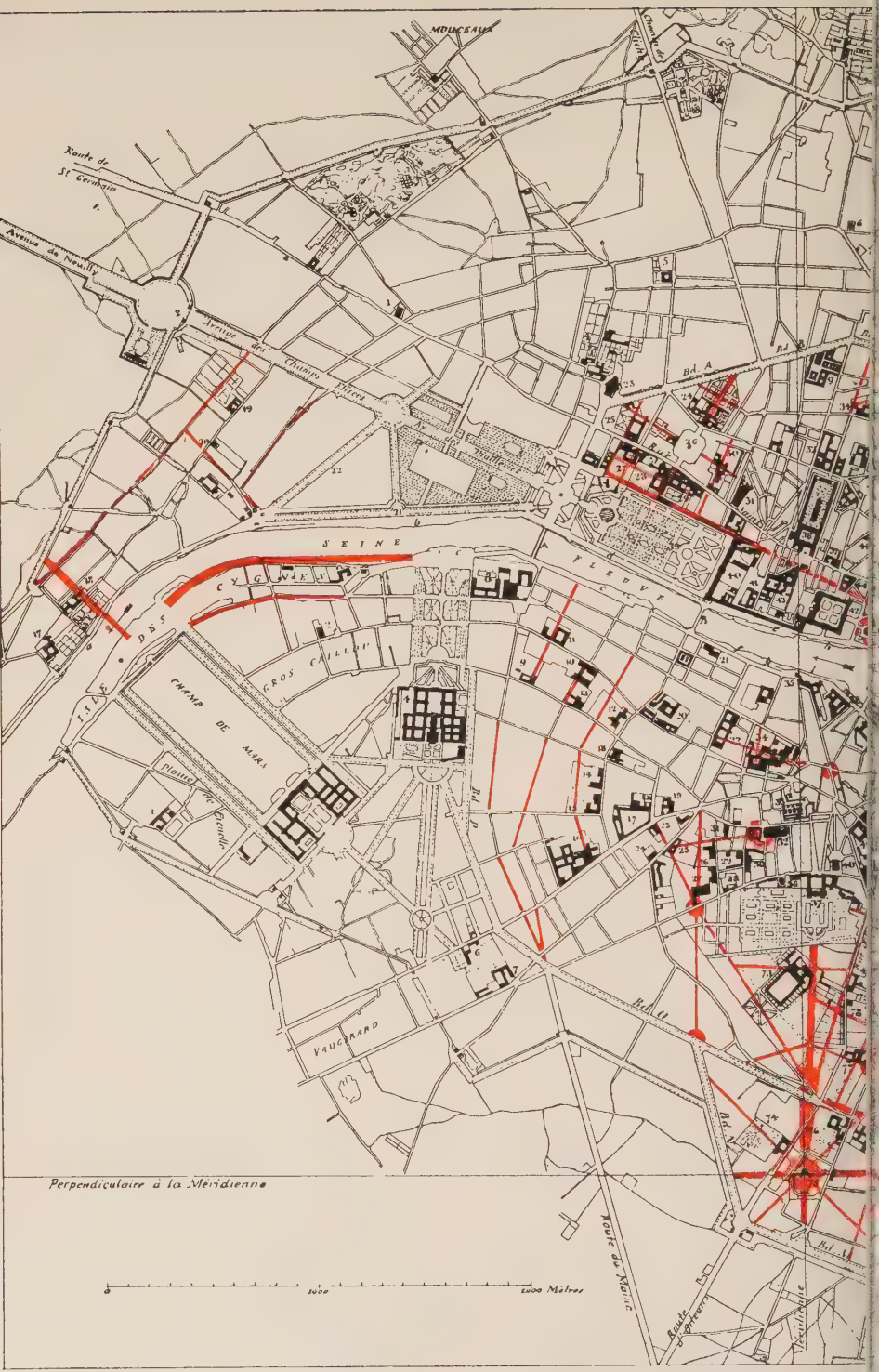
1. PAROISSE SAINT PHILIPPE DU ROULE.
2. BARRIÈRE DE L'ETOILE.
3. ABBAYE DE MONTMARTRE.
4. COUVENT DES RELIGIEUSES BÉNÉDICTINES DE LA VILLE L'EVÊQUE.
5. COUVENT DES CAPUCINS.
6. PSSE. N. D. DE LORETTE.
7. HOSPICE SAINT EUSTACHE.
8. MAGASIN DES MENUS PLAISIRS DU ROI.
9. COMÉDIE ITALIENNE.
10. COUVENT DE ST. LAZARE.
11. PAROISSE SAINT LAURENT.
12. FOIRE SAINT LAURENT.
13. COUVENT DES RECOLLETS.
14. HÔPITAL SAINT LOUIS.
15. GRANDE VOIRIE.
16. COMBAT DU TAUREAU.
17. LES MINIMES (bons Hommes).
18. LA VISITATION STE. MARIE.
19. ABBAYE DE STE. PÉRINE.
20. PAROISSE SAINT PIERRE.
21. COUR DE LA REINE.
22. ALLÉE DES VEUVES.
23. PAROISSE STE. MADELAINE
24. COUVENT DES CAPUCINES.
25. LES RELIGIEUSES DE LA CONCEPTION.
26. PLACE LOUIS LE GRAND (Vendôme).
27. COUVT. DE L'ASSOMPTION.
28. COUVENT DES CAPUCINS.
29. COUVENT DES FEUILLANS.
30. COUVENT DES JACOBINS.
31. PAROISSE SAINT ROCH.
32. BIBLIOTHÈQUE DU ROI.
33. COUVENT DES AUGUSTINS.
34. COUVENT DES FILLES DE SAINT THOMAS.
35. PLACE DES VICTOIRES.
36. HÔTEL DE TOULOUSE.
37. CHAPITRE DE ST. HONORÉ.
38. PALAIS ROYAL.
39. JARDIN DES THUILLERIES.
40. PALAIS DES THUILLERIES.
41. PLACE DU CARROUSEL.
42. CHÂTEAU DU VIEUX LOUVRE.
43. HÔTEL DE LONGUEVILLE.
44. CONGRÉGATION DE L'ORATOIRE.
45. PAROISSE SAINT GERMAIN L'AUXERROIS.
46. HÔTEL DES FERMES.
47. HALLE AU BLED.
48. HÔTEL DES POSTES.
49. PAROISSE ST. EUSTACHE.
50. HALLES.
51. MARCHÉ DES INNOCENTS.
52. PSSE. STE. OPPORTUNE.
53. GRAND CHÂTELET.
54. PAROISSE SAINT JACQUES LE MAJEUR.
55. PAROISSE SAINT MERRI.
56. SAINT SÉPULCHRE.
57. FILLES DE ST. MAGLOIRE.

RIGHT BANK—continued.

58. SAINTE AVOYE.
59. PAROISSE SAINT LEU-SAINT GILLES.
60. HOSPICE DE LA TRINITÉ.
61. PAROISSE SAINT SAUVEUR.
62. COUVT. DES FILLES DIEU.
63. PAROISSE NOTRE DAME DE BONNE NOUVELLE.
64. UNION CHRÉTIENNE DE SAINT CHAUMONT.
65. ABBAYE DE SAINT MARTIN DES CHAMPS.
66. PAROISSE SAINT NICOLAS DES CHAMPS.
67. COUVT. DES CARMÉLITES.
68. HOSPICE STE. CATHERINE.
69. LES CARMES BILLETTÉS.
70. LES BLANCS MANTEAUX.
71. HÔTEL DE SOUBISE.
72. LES CAPUCINS.
73. HÔPITAL DES ENFANTS ROUGES.
74. LE TEMPLE.
75. FILLES DU SAUVEUR.
76. SALLE DE L'OPÉRA.
77. WAUXHALL D'ETÉ.
78. LES FILLES DE LA MADELAINE.
79. N. D. DE NAZARETH.
80. LES FILLES DU CALVAIRE.
81. HÔPITAL STE. ANASTASE.
82. LE PETIT ST. ANTOINE.
83. HÔTEL DE LA FORCE.
84. SAINT LOUIS.
85. COUVT. DES ANNONCIADES.
86. RELIGIEUSES DU SAINT SACREMENT.
87. LES MINIMES.
88. PLACE ROYALE.
89. PAROISSE SAINT PAUL.
90. PLACE DE GRÈVE ET HÔTEL DE VILLE.
91. PAROISSE ST. GERVAIS.
92. L'AVE MARIA.
93. LES CELESTINS.
94. GRAND ARSENAL.
95. PETIT ARSENAL.
96. CHÂTEAU DE LA BASTILLE.
97. RELIGIEUSES DE LA VISITATION.
98. COUVT. DES ANNONCIADES.
99. COUVENT DES HOSPITALIÈRES DE LA ROQUETTE.
100. COUVENT DE NOTRE DAME DE BON SECOURS.
101. COUVENT DE LA MADELAINE DE TRAISNEL.
102. COUVENT DES FILLES DE LA CROIX.
103. PAROISSE SAINTE MARGUERITE.
104. LES ANGLAISES.
105. HÔPITAL DES QUINZE VINGTS.
106. HÔPITAL DES ENFANS TROUVÉS.
107. MARCHÉ ST. ANTOINE.
108. ABBAYE ST. ANTOINE.
109. MANUFACTURE ROYALE DES GLACES.
110. PLACE DU THRÔNE.
111. COUVENT DES RELIGIEUSES DE LA TRINITÉ.
112. COUVENT DES CHANOINESSES DE PICPUS.
113. COUVENT DES RELIGIEUSES DE PICPUS.

THE SEINE.

a. QUAI DES BONS HOMMES.
b. „ DE LA CONFÉRENCE.
c. „ D'ORSAY.
d. „ DES THUILLERIES.
e. „ DES GALERIES DU LOUVRE.
f. „ DES THÉATINS.
g. „ MALAQUEST.
h. QUAI DE BOURBON.
i. „ DE L'ÉCOLE.
l. „ DES 4 NATIONS.
m. „ DE CONTY.
n. „ DE LA MÉGISSERIE.
o. „ DE L'HORLOGE DU PALAIS.
p. „ DES ORFÈVRES.



THE "PLAN DES ARTI

AS RECONSTITUTED, 1889.

Specially re-drawn for this work.

THE SEINE—continued.

q. QUAI DES GRANDS AUGUSTINS.
r. „ DE GÈVRES.
s. „ PELLETIER.
t. „ DE LA GRÈVE.
u. „ DES ORMES.
v. „ SAINT PAUL.
w. „ DES CELESTINS.
x. „ DU MAIL.
y. „ DES MIRAMIONNES.
z. „ DE LA TOURNELLE.
aa. „ SAINT BERNARD.
bb. „ DE L'HÔPITAL.
cc. „ DE LA GARRE.
dd. „ DE LA RAPÉE.
ee. „ DE BERCY.
ff. QUAI DE BOURBON.
gg. „ D'ANJOU.
hh. „ D'ORLÉANS.
ii. „ DAUPHIN.
A. PONT DE LOUIS XVI.
B. „ ROYAL.
C. „ NEUF.
D. „ AU CHANGE.
E. „ SAINT MICHEL.
F. „ NOTRE DAME.
G. PETIT PONT.
H. PONT SAINT CHARLES.
J. „ AU DOUBLE.
K. „ MARIE.
L. „ DE LA TOURNELLE.
M. „ DE GRAMONT.

ISLES DE LA CITÉ ET SAINT LOUIS.

1. PLACE DAUPHINE.
2. PALAIS DE JUSTICE.
3. PAROISSE SAINT BARTHÉLEMY.
4. LES BERNABITES.
5. SAINT DENIS.
6. PAROISSE ST. GERMAIN.
7. ENFANS TROUVÉS.
8. HÔTEL DIEU.
9. MARCHÉ NEUF.
10. PORT LANDRY.
11. NOTRE DAME (Métropolitaine)
12. PAROISSE SAINT LOUIS.
13. HÔTEL BRETONVILLIER.

LEFT BANK.

1. CHÂTEAU DE GRENELLE.
2. PAROISSE ST. PIERRE.
3. ESPLANADE DES INVALIDES.
4. HÔTEL DES INVALIDES.
5. ÉCOLE MILITAIRE.
6. HOSPICE DE LA PAROISSE SAINT SULPICE.
7. MAISON DE L'ENFANT JÉSUS.
8. PALAIS DE BOURBON.
9. LES RELIGIEUSES CARMÉLITES.
10. LES RELIGIEUSES DE BELLE CHASSE.
11. LES RELIGIEUSES DE ST. JOSEPH.
12. LES RELIGIEUSES DE LA VISITATION STE. MARIE.
13. ABBAYE DE PANTHÉMONT.
14. LES CONVALESCENTS.
15. MISSIONS ÉTRANGÈRES.
16. HÔPITAL DES INCURABLES
17. HÔPITAL DES PETITES MAISONS.
18. LES RECOLLETTES.
19. ABBAYE AUX BOIS.
20. LES JACOBINS.
21. LES THÉATINS.
22. HÔPITAL DE LA CHARITÉ.
23. DAMES SAINT THOMAS DE VILLENEUVE.
24. LE BON PASTEUR.
25. NOTRE DAME DE CONSOLATION (du cherche Midi).
26. LES BÉNÉDICTINES DU SAINT SACREMENT.
27. LES CARMES DÉCHAUSSÉS.
28. LES BERNARDINS DU PRÉCIEUX SANG.

LEFT BANK—continued.

29. ANCIEN NOVICIAT DES JÉSUITES.
30. SŒURS DE LA CHARITÉ.
31. LES ORPHELINES.
32. PAROISSE ST. SULPICE.
33. MARCHÉ ST. GERMAIN.
34. ABBAYE DE ST. GERMAIN DES PRÈS.
35. COLLÈGE DE MAZARIN.
36. PETIT LUXEMBOURG.
37. LE LUXEMBOURG.
38. HÔTEL DES MONNAIES.
39. LES GRANDS AUGUSTINS.
40. THÉÂTRE FRANÇAIS.
41. LES CORDELIERS.
42. COLLÈGE D'HARCOURT.
43. COUVENT DE CLUNI.
44. LES JACOBINS.
45. LES FEUILLANS.
46. MAISON DE SORBONNE.
47. PAROISSE SAINT ANDRÉ DES ARCS.
48. CLOÎTRE SAINT BENÔIT.
49. LES MATHURINS.
50. ST. ÉTIENNE DES GRÈS.
51. COLLÈGE LOUIS LE GRAND.
52. COLLÈGE DE MONTAIGU.
53. SAINTE GENEVIÈVE.
54. ABBAYE STE. GENEVIÈVE.
55. PAROISSE SAINT ÉTIENNE DU MONT.
56. COLLÈGE DES GRASSINS.
57. COLLÈGE ROYAL.
58. PAROISSE SAINT JEAN DE LATRAN.
59. COLLÈGE DE LISIEUX.
60. COLLÈGE DES LOMBARDS.
61. PAROISSE ST. SÉVERIN.
62. ST. JULIEN LE PAUVRE.
63. LES CARMES.
64. PAROISSE ST. NICOLAS DU CHARDONNET.
65. LES MIRAMIONNES.
66. LES BERNARDINS.
67. COLLÈGE ET PAROISSE DU CARDINAL LEMOINE.
68. LES FILLES ANGLAISES.
69. LA DOCTRINE CHRÉTIENNE.
70. LES AUGUSTINS DE LA CONGRÉGATION.
71. HALLE AUX VINS.
72. ABBAYE SAINT VICTOR.
73. LES CHARTREUX.
74. L'ORATOIRE DE L'INSTITUTION DE L'ENFANT JÉSUS.
75. OBSERVATOIRE.
76. ABBAYE DE PORT ROYAL.
77. LES CARMÉLITES.
78. SÉMINAIRE DE SAINT MAGLOIRE.
79. PAROISSE SAINT JACQUES DU HAUT PAS.
80. LA VISITATION STE. MARIE.
81. LES URSULINES.
82. LES FEUILLANTINES.
83. BÉNÉDICTINS ANGLAIS.
84. ABBAYE DU VAL DE GRÂCE.
85. LES CAPUCINS.
86. LES DAMES DE LA PROVIDENCE.
87. LES EUDISTES.
88. SÉMINAIRE DU ST. ESPRIT.
89. LA PRÉSENTATION.
90. SAINT MICHEL.
91. JARDIN DES APOTICAIRES.
92. PAROISSE ST. HIPPOLYTE.
93. LES CORDELIERS.
94. MANUFACTURE ROYALE DES GOBELINS.
95. COUVENT DES ANGLAISES.
96. CHAPITRE ST. MARCEL.
97. PAROISSE ST. MARTIN.
98. CIMETIÈRE DE CLAMART.
99. LA MISÉRICORDE.
100. HÔPITAL GÉNÉRAL (Pitié).
101. JARDIN DES PLANTES.
102. MARCHÉ AUX CHEVAUX.
103. HÔPITAL GÉNÉRAL DE LA SALTPÉTRIÈRE.
104. BUREAU DES VOITURES.
105. LES HOSPITALIÈRES DE LA MISÉRICORDE.
106. PAROISSE ST. MÉDARD.
107. SAINTE PÉLAGIE.

TOWN-PLANNING IN THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

(*REMARKS ON THE "PLAN DES ARTISTES."*)

"... the example of a committee of French architects, artists, and engineers who, during the national crisis of 1793, prepared a plan for the improvement of Paris..."
(*From a typical speech.*)

I.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

ALTHOUGH of no remote date, few matters bearing upon Paris history and topography have given rise to more perplexing discussion than the "Plan des Artistes," which has been so often mentioned, as a felicitous example of public spirit, by those concerned with the progress of town-planning in this country. The plan thus alluded to is that forming plate X of the Atlas of Maps called "Les Travaux de Paris 1789–1889," which was produced on the occasion of the

International Exhibition of 1889, commemorating the Centenary of the destruction of the Bastille—the first overt act of the French Revolution—which led, three years later, to the proclamation of a Republic. This Atlas was prepared by the Heads of the City Engineering departments, under the supervision of the famous Ad. Alphand, Director-in-chief of the Exhibition works of 1889—as he had been of those of three previous [1] exhibitions—to whom Paris owes the lay-out of the Bois-de-Boulogne, the Parc Monceau, and many other parks and gardens. Already "Grand Officier," he received the rare distinction of "Grand Croix" of the Legion of Honour, for his services on this occasion; which marked the termination of thirty-five years of office as "Directeur des Travaux." He died two years later, within a few months of his colleague the great Prefect Haussmann.

The full title inscribed on the plan under notice is as follows: "*PLAN indiquant les Rues projetées par la COMMISSION DITE DES ARTISTES en exécution de la Loi du 4 Avril 1793* [2] *pour la division des grandes propriétés nationales l'embellissement et l'Assainissement de la COMMUNE DE PARIS, reconstitué d'après*

[1] 1855, 1867, and 1878.
[2] 15 Germinal, an I.

les Procès-Verbaux des Assemblées réunies des Conseils des Bâtim^ts civils et des Ponts-et-Chaussées dans les Séances du 3 Germinal an IV et 24 Fructidor, an IV[1]." The actual plan is a reduced copy of that made[2] (in connection with the Exhibition) by Renaud, Hochereau, and Faucon, to show the limits of the sixty "Districts," and forty-eight "Sections," respectively, into which Paris was divided during the revolutionary period; which is itself based on Verniquet's plan of 1789. The new streets proposed are shown by red lines, printed over the trace of those previously existing, and the scale is but small (1 : 16,000, about 4 in. to the mile), the plan being comprised in a space 21 in. by 15 in. It is a poor production, comparing unfavourably with the beautiful execution of the plans from which its groundwork is reproduced.

The "Commission dite des Artistes" was appointed in the year II, but it will be observed that the plan of which I have given the title did not appear until the Exhibition of 1889, which celebrated the Centenary of the Revolution. It has been spoken of with reverence, even by so competent an authority as the Commission d'Extension de Paris[3], as forming the basis of

[1] 23 March and 11 September 1796.
[2] Décision du Conseil-Municipal, du 30 Décembre 1887.
[3] "Considérations techniques préliminaires," p. 21.

all subsequent works which were undertaken for the improvement of Paris; and is often referred to as the "Plan des Artistes." The original plan prepared in 1889 is still preserved in the Department of the Géomètre-en-chef de la Ville, with a copy of the Procès-Verbaux, or minutes of proceedings, cited in its title, written at the foot. These latter documents may be found at the Archives Nationales in various covers of the sub-series F.13.

I propose to submit, for the consideration of those interested in the subject, some notes made in the course of my examination of the value of this plan as an historical document, and of the claims which have been made on behalf of the work of the Commission des Artistes. I take this opportunity of acknowledging my great obligation to my friends M. Louis Bonnier, "Directeur des services d'Architecture de la Ville," for transcribing the voluminous procès-verbaux for my use, and to M. Marius Barroux, the learned "Archiviste de la Seine," for other valued help in my investigation.

II.

THE HISTORIC ANTECEDENTS.

The architectural art of the Renaissance differs from that of the right Classic period, in its love for the elaboration and refinement of parts

and details, rather than for, and often to the detriment of, austere concentration upon integral design. This difference is reflected in the alterations made to the plan of Paris during the Renaissance. The projects for its improvement, many of great beauty in themselves, are independent and heterogeneous studies, bearing little relation one to another, and none at all to the general development of the city; nor had the needs of its commerce and traffic any part in the matter. The combining of a fortified ring with planted avenues, by Louis XIV and Colbert,[1] which at first sight controverts this statement, did, it is true, eventually create an important circular line of communication; but it was planned with the directly contrary view of limiting the town, and divorcing the suburbs; "l'augmentation et accroissement de cette . . . bonne ville de Paris," being considered "grandement prejudiciable."[2]

The persistent growth of Paris was, in fact, regarded by the great French Kings with anxiety, not unmixed with apprehension. To them, "Paris" meant the three historic quarters of the "Cité," the "Université," and the "Ville"; and all building beyond the boundaries was, both in

[1] *cf.* Plan of Bullet and Blondel, 1675.
[2] Déclaration Royale du 29 Juillet 1627.

theory and fact, a mere parasitical accretion. Their efforts were, accordingly, directed to the decorative development of the central portion, and the discouragement of suburban extension; not realizing that the more attractive they made the centre, the greater would be its centripetal influence in drawing population to the periphery. It is easy to understand their misgiving. The faubourgs were regarded with jealousy by the true townspeople. They had grown up beside the roads at the entrances to the city[1], where they afforded lodging for the night to those arriving after the gates were closed; they had become the resort of roisterers and bad characters of all kinds, were outside municipal control and difficult of supervision; and, in short, bore the worst of ill-fame. As the outlying "bourgs," such as Saint Germain-des-Près, extended, their "faubourgs," and eventually the "bourgs" also, became merged in those of Paris itself. The consequently increased importance of these suburbs, their commerce—free from the dues levied within the walls—and their irregular attractions for the dissipated, formed a standing grievance and vexation to the citizens. Their

[1] Faubourg = foris burgum, i.e., outside the "bourg"; the variant "fauxbourg," or "faulxbourg" (anc.), suggests false etymology.

demoralizing influence, the impossibility of defending them, and the cover they offered to an enemy attacking the town,[1] the fear of economical difficulties in provisioning so vast a population if the growth of Paris was allowed to continue, and the encroachment of buildings upon the cultivated ground (cultures maraîchères) which supplied the city with its indispensable vegetables and salads, were the cause of much concern to the authorities; to which was added a certain political fear that so great a concentration of affairs in one place might seriously injure the prosperity of other cities of the kingdom.

The remedy adopted was always that of forbidding further building without the walls; and we thus find edict after edict of "défense de bâtir" published by Henri II and his successors. These were always, for various reasons, ineffectual; and fatal concessions as to existing erections had to be made at each attempt to form a zone "non aedificandi." In the case of the bastioned rampart of Louis XIV already referred to, preliminary surveys disclosed the fact that certain

[1] It will be remembered that Henri IV opened his attack in 1590 by seizing the faubourgs and fortifying them *against* the city. It had been seriously debated, earlier in the same century, whether the Northern faubourgs should not be destroyed, so as to clear the ground for defensive purposes; but the alternative was adopted of including them in the new enceinte of Charles IX.

enterprising "particuliers" had built, not only outside the limits of the "bornes," or boundary-posts, placed by Louis XIII, but upon their very sites. The transgression, moreover, had been condoned by nominal rental fines, which protected the buildings from demolition. Nothing remained but to levy a smart imposition of one-tenth of their value in return for a proper title, and to include them within thirty-five new "bornes," beyond which final limits none might in future build, "ny faire aucunes clostures sous quelque prétexte que ce soit"[1], under heavy penalties. The menace was of little avail; the new boundaries, like the old, were disregarded, and in the next reign the King, once again, defined "irrévocablement" the limits, within which Paris and its faubourgs respectively were to be contained.

The anxiety of its rulers regarding the growth of Paris was augmented by their uncertainty as to its actual extent and rate of increase. No exact census of the inhabitants was taken during the period of the monarchy,[2] and the plans available were neither sufficiently complete nor accurate enough

[1] Déclaration du 26 Avril 1672. The new boundary posts will be found marked on the plan of Jouvin de Rochefort, 1675.

[2] There had been merely vague estimates made of the population, based on the numbers of registered births, etc. *cf.* Dulaure, "Histoire de Paris," T. VII, p. 189, VIII, pp. 171, 454.

for statistical purposes. It is to Louis XVI, and his much abused administration, that Paris owes its first great trigonometrical survey; and to the Restoration of the Monarchy must be given the credit for its first complete census, in 1817.

III.

THE CONTEMPORARY NARRATIVE.

The short and unhappy reign of Louis XVI (1774–1793) was of a notable activity as regards the development of Paris. A great plan of central improvements—to which I shall refer again—had been drawn up by the Municipality in the latter years of Louis XV; and approved by the King, for progressive execution, in 1769. A Director-General, responsible for all schemes for the extension, sanitation, and improvement of Paris, had been appointed—one Pierre Outrequin —whose name only, with formal acknowledgment of his zeal in such matters during more than thirty years, has come down to us[1]; we should have liked to know something of the man and his work. After the peace of Versailles, this plan, which had been partially carried out, was again

[1] *V.* Commission d'Extension de Paris, "Aperçu historique." He was probably a descendant of Joseph Outrequin, who laid out the Cours-la-Reine for Marie de Médicis. *cf.* Hurtaut et Magny, "Dictionnaire historique de la Ville de Paris" (1679).

taken up, and in 1784–5 the King had under consideration the appointment of a commission to deal with the whole question of improvements, both of the city *and of its faubourgs*. The important "Déclaration du Roi," of 1783, already provided that all proposals for new streets must be submitted for the Royal approval; fixing the width at a minimum of 30 ft., and ordering that all existing streets should be enlarged to this width as rebuilding took place. This "Déclaration" furnishes the principle of our modern building regulations, in determining a height for buildings proportionate to the width of streets; thus for 30 ft. streets, the houses might rise to a height of 60 ft., while they were restricted to 48 ft. for streets under that width. The spaciousness of the ideas thus asserted can only be realized by remembering that, in the previous century, the rue Galande, a main thoroughfare, was too narrow to allow two carriages to pass,[1] "quoyque ce soit un des plus grands passages de Paris." Embarking thus upon a comprehensive town-planning scheme, to which the loan of 30,000,000 francs raised in September 1786 was partly affected, it was realized that the first step necessary was the preparation of an accurate survey to a large scale. The

[1] "Aperçu historique," p. 29 (Commission d'Extension de Paris).

architect Edme Verniquet[1] was invited to undertake the work; and the terms of his remuneration agreed, on October 15, 1785,[2] at 600,000 livres, about £24,000.

Verniquet was an enthusiast. He was at that time 58 years of age, and possessed of a pretty fortune acquired in practice at Dijon,[3] which had enabled him to remove to Paris, and to purchase—after the fashion of his time—the office of "Commissaire-général-voyer" in the Financial branch of the Municipality. His official duties were to draw up the various street plans required for his Department, which controlled lines of frontages and projections; the standard town-map in use being that of Delagrive, made in 1728, which, excellent in its way, was small in scale (11 mm. to 25 toises; about 1:4,500), and out of date. Finding it inadequate, Verniquet had made proposals for an entirely new plan, which were not accepted[4]; but undiscouraged by

[1] Born 8 October 1727; died 26 November 1804.

[2] H. Monin.—"Les travaux d'Edme Verniquet" (Bulletin de la Bibliothèque et des Travaux historiques III, p. xv.).

[3] He had a large provincial practice, especially in Burgundy. His works comprised no less than five churches and abbeys and twelve châteaux, besides numerous restorations. Most of his buildings were destroyed during the Revolution, notably the fine château de Pons d'Hostun, near Verdun-sur-Saône.

[4] Bonnardot.—"Etudes archéologiques sur les anciens plans de Paris," p. 217.

their rejection, he began a new survey of his own account, which was already far advanced when, eleven years later, he received the Royal sanction for his immense enterprise.

The story of his work reads like a romance. The greater part of the measuring was done at night, by the light of torches, in order to avoid the traffic. Some sixty draughtsmen were installed in the great gallery over the cloisters of the Cordeliers Convent,[1] which was placed at his disposal, and a picturesque addition to the ordinary staff of an architect was provided by "upwards of eighty"[2] assistants on horseback. The organization must have been admirable, and the tact, patience, and activity of Verniquet and his chief assistant, A. J. Mathieu, exemplary; for the public took an embarrassing interest in the proceedings. The gallery of the Cordeliers was "visited daily by the Princes of the blood, foreign Royalties, Ministers and other Statesmen," as well as by "artists and all men of learning." The popular guide-book of the period devotes a whole

[1] Destroyed in 1803. The site of the Cloisters, which remained standing until 1877, was to the north of the rue Racine, and is now covered by the laboratory buildings of the Ecole-de-Médicine. The Refectory is still intact, and contains the collections of the Musée Dupuytren.

[2] Alfred Franklin—"Les anciens plans de Paris." T. II, p. 138.

chapter[1] to the interesting sight, and recommends all amateurs and tourists to visit it; politely adding that the work seems very creditable both to Verniquet and the artists who have assisted him.

The work proceeded at a great pace, notwithstanding. The dreadful days of the Revolution broke upon Paris, but the storm seems to have left the draughtsmen at their peaceful work, untouched; protected, it may even be, by the presence of the Cordeliers Club, which, with butcher Legendre in the chair, held its meetings in the Chapel of the same Convent. The survey comprised,[2] in the first place, three series of plans; first, a detailed plan of every street, with the frontage dimensions figured and the owners' names shown, to a scale of "six lignes pour toise" (12 ft. to the inch); second, the course of the Seine to "une ligne et demie pour toise" (48 ft. to the inch); and third, the general plan of Paris within the existing rampart,[3] to the same scale as the last. This was extended by subsequent instructions so as to comprise the faubourgs lying within a distance of 200 toises (quarter-mile)

[1] Thiéry.—"Guide des étrangers" (1787). T. II, p. 370.

[2] Letter from Verniquet to the Assemblée Nationale, 1791.

[3] i.e., the "cours" of Louis XIV; 1670–1714. (*cf.* Bonnardot, "Anc. Enc.," p. 202).

beyond the new enceinte,[1] to a scale of "une demi-ligne pour toise" (144 ft. to the inch); and was to be further supplemented by detailed plans of all the public buildings of Paris. In 1791, when the general plan was completed, about five thousand drawings had been made; the fact that the detailed plan of the Ile de la Cité alone was thirty feet in length will suggest the enormous labour involved; and after thirty years' work the author was still engaged, at the time of his death, upon the completion of the detailed plans. The expenses far exceeded the remuneration agreed, and Verniquet, his private means exhausted, died in debt to the artists who had helped him[2]; ruined by the sacrifices he had made to bring the work to a satisfactory conclusion. The original drawings have all disappeared, save a few fragments, discovered at the Carnavalet by the historian Lenôtre, which had been saved from the burning of the Hôtel de Ville in 1871.[3] Some, it is grievous to note, were stolen; the

[1] i.e., the "Enceinte des Fermiers-généraux," begun in 1784. These supplementary instructions increased the work, and its cost to the author, by one-half.

[2] The curious may follow the wretched story of the claim by his daughter upon the Government, their counterclaim for the *copper plates provided for the engraving* (!) and the seizure of her father's papers, in Monin's treatise, already quoted.

[3] G. Lenôtre—"Les Cordeliers." (Paris Révolutionnaire, p. 318).

great general plan, mounted on a table of oak, 70 ft. in length and 14 ft. wide, constructed "in such a way as to be unaffected by atmospheric changes,"[1] has been *lost*, table and all, in spite of repeated search. In 1792, the Département des Travaux-publics ordered all the drawings to be removed from the Cordeliers to the Palais-Cardinal[2]; and the great plan is known to have been transferred from the Collège d'Harcourt,[3] when the buildings were sold, about 1795, to the Bibliothèque Impériale. Thence, in 1808, it was taken, at the instance of the Bâtiments-civils, to the "petit hôtel Conti rue de Grenelle"[4] (now

[1] Article by A. Brette.—"Le Siècle," 30 August 1905.

[2] Tuetey.—"Répertoire-général des sources manuscrites." T.VI, No. 3060.

[3] Demolished in 1814; now the Lycée-Saint-Louis. It adjoined the Cordeliers buildings.

[4] The incessant renaming of the hôtels and streets is a weariness to the student of Paris. There were several "Hôtels Conti," and several "rues de Grenelle"; but there was, properly speaking, no "petit hôtel Conti rue de Grenelle." The Ministry of the Interior occupied, in 1808, the great Hôtel of Prince Bourbon-Conti (formerly Hôtel-de-la-Marche), in the rue Grenelle-Saint-Germain, and annexed the small adjoining Hôtel Lamoignon de Basville; the latter being called the "petit" hôtel Conti, to distinguish it from the former. Hence La Tynna (Dict. Topog. Hist. 1816) calls No. 101 rue de Grenelle "le Grand Hôtel Conti," and No. 103 "le petit Hôtel Conti"; but the historic Petit Hôtel de Conti is that of the rue Guénégaud, still intact, and forming part of the buildings of the Hôtel des Monnaies, according to Franklin, "L'Hôtel de Nesle" (Hoffbauer), p. 35. *cf.* Mazerolle, "L'Hôtel des Monnaies de Paris," (p. 11).

the Telegraphs Department of the Post Office), where they held their meetings; and all trace of it has now vanished. It will probably be found one day, papered over, and forming a wall or partition in one of those "temporary" constructions whose longevity is notorious.

In 1795–6 (an IV) Verniquet published the great "plan-général" in the form of an atlas of seventy-two engraved plates, the size of the assembled sheets being 5 m.095 by 4 m.032 (about 16 ft. 6 in. by 13 ft. 1 in.). The original probably perished in the burning of the Hôtel-de-Ville in 1871; it was there when Bonnardot described it,[1] twenty years earlier, together with the portfolios of large-scale plans, the remains of which Lenôtre found at the Carnavalet.

This is the plan which became known as the "Plan des Artistes," by reason of its association with artists and their work.[2] It was prepared in connection with the architectural embellishment of Paris; its authors were artists; to artists was conceded a reduction of one-fourth of its published price; and from this plan were drawn the extracts issued by the Instruction-Publique, for the use of the artists taking part in competitions for various

[1] "Etudes archéologiques," p. 219. His measurements of the plan are slightly inaccurate, and he gives Verniquet's baptismal name as "Paul."

[2] Monin.—"Les Travaux, etc." p. xxv.

projects, such as those for a monument to the Republic, and for the opening up of the Tuileries quarter.

"Edme Verniquet" is one of the great names of Paris history. He worked as a true artist, in no wise proportioning the labour he bestowed to the remuneration he received, but giving all his best to bring the work to perfection. "Exegit monumentum," and the copper-plates of his wonderful plan are truly "aere perennius."

IV.

PROCESS AND CONCLUSIONS.

The facts which I have outlined, as to the origin of Verniquet's work and the circumstances under which it was produced, form the groundwork on which to base a scrutiny of the credentials of the Revolutionary Commission des Artistes, and of the so-called "Plan des Artistes" of 1889—the "reconstituted plan," as I will call it, to distinguish it from that of 1791. The materials for such an essay are furnished in the first place, by the Law of 4 April, 1793,[1] and the Procès-Verbaux, or minutes, of the Conseils des Ponts et Chaussées et des Bâtiments-civils—cited in the title of the

[1] This law (1 and 4 April 1793) decreed that the National properties should be divided and sold in lots; the text is given in the "Collection des lois," of Duvergier, vol. 5, p. 293.

plan of 1889—and other contemporary records of the Convention and the Municipality. In the second place we have the researches and writings of the late Alexandre Bruel,[1] one of the highly trained and competent keepers of the Records at the Archives Nationales; of M. Armand Brette,[2] whose attention was drawn to the subject while preparing certain historical studies on the City of Paris, with which he was entrusted by the Municipality; of M. H. Monin,[3] whose treatise already quoted embodies the Report of the

[1] "Note sur le grand plan de Paris, dit 'Plan des Artistes' (1793–1808)," par A. Bruel, archiviste aux Archives Nationales. Paris 1878; in-8. (Extrait du T. IV des Mémoires de la Société de Paris et de l'Ile de France 115–124.) Documents relatifs au sort inconnu d'un exemplaire du plan de Verniquet sur lequel la Commission des Monuments, nommée par la Convention avait indiqué des alignements et percements à exécuter dans Paris sur les terrains des établissements supprimés (Tourneux III, 11,872).

"Recherches sur les trois premiers exemplaires du plan de Paris de Verniquet (1794–1808) pour faire suite à la Note sur le grand plan de Paris dit 'Plan des Artistes,'" par A. Bruel, sous-chef de section aux Archives Nationales—Paris 1882; in-8. (Extrait du T. VIII des Mémoires de la Société de Paris et de l'Ile de France 293–310.)

[2] "Note relative au plan de Paris dit Plan des Artistes, Communication à la Commission du Vieux Paris. (Bulletin Municipal Officiel, 16 Fev. 1899, p. 569.)

"Le Plan de Paris dit Plan des Artistes," "Le Siècle," 30 Août 1905.

[3] For reference to this work v. p. 85. The investigation was made by MM. Brette, Lazard, Mantoux, Monin, and Marcel Poëte.

members of the "Commission du Vieux Paris" appointed to investigate the subject, and contains transcripts of valuable letters of Verniquet and of the late A. Sébille, his great-nephew; of M. L. Bonnier, whose views are embodied in the Reports of the Commission d'Extension already quoted; and of the well-known historian M. Gosselin-Lenôtre,[1] whose brilliant studies of Paris and the Revolution are known almost as well in this country as in France. So much research being needed by competent authorities, my readers will not be surprised to learn that very little is known about the "Commission des Artistes." Bruel thinks it was the third section of the Commission des Monuments of 1792, and M. Monin says as to this, "Rien d'impossible." But the Commission des Monuments was suppressed 28 Frimaire an II (18 December 1793), being superseded by the "Commission temporaire[2] des Arts" (décrets des 15–18 Aôut 1793[3]) which was attached to the

[1] "Rapport au sujet du plan dit des Artistes." Commission du Vieux Paris. (Bulletin Municipal Officiel, 25 Mai 1899, p. 1689.)

[2] "Temporaire," indicated a Committee whose functions terminated with the completion of the work entrusted to it (i.e., not a "Standing Committee").

[3] *V.* Guillaume; "Etudes revolutionnaires," 2e serie, p. 364; *cf.* Tourneux *op. cit.* III, 17,730; the members were nominated by décret (1560) du 18 Pluviose an II (6 Feb. 1794). The duty of the Commission des Arts, set up after the sup-

Comité d'Instruction publique, and had nothing to do with the plan; in the same year, it will be noted that the body with which we are concerned, the Commission des Artistes—or Artistes des domaines-nationaux, as they were also called—was appointed. The latter commission had no connection whatever with the former, notwithstanding the similarity of their titles and dates of origin (which has led some writers to confuse them[1]), as is apparent from the contemporary records, with which I shall presently deal; that it was of little authority or importance, and never issued a Report of its proceedings is equally clear. The Conventionnel Bishop Grégoire, in his celebrated discourses of Fructidor and Brumaire an III (September and October 1794), affirming the value of the artistic and scientific work undertaken by

pression of the Academies, was the protection and inventory of the works of art and science, which had become national property. The first members were David, Romme, Haussmann, and Dyzès, with whom were subsequently associated thirty-six specialists. *cf.* Tourneux III, 17,732; 17,732a. The papers of this Commission will be found in sub-series of Registers F.17*, 7–13, in les Archives Nationaux.

[1] "La Commission des Artistes ne doit pas être confondue avec la Commission temporaire des Arts dont les papiers sont dans une autre sous-série des Archives Nationales." (M. Barroux—letter to the author.) The former was under the control of the Ministre des Finances (Dépt. des Domaines); the latter, as stated above, under the Ministre de l'Instruction Publique.

the Republic,[1] makes no reference to the work of the Commission in question; though he cannot be supposed to have overlooked so important an argument for his case as the preparation of a great plan of Paris improvements; and Chabrol is equally silent about it in his elaborate Mémoire[2] of 1818 on the subject of street widening. I find no trace of this Commission des Artistes in the immense bibliographies of Tourneux[3] and Tuetey,[4] which show, on the other hand, that the works connected with public buildings and streets were the subject of continual communications between the Administrations of the Biens-Nationaux, the Domaines et Finances, their colleagues of the Travaux-Publics, Callet the Inspecteur-Général de la Voirie, and Poyet the Architecte de la Ville. When the Biens-Nationaux needed plans, they obtained them from Verniquet, through the Administrateurs des Travaux-Publics; and

[1] The Rapports of Grégoire and Chénier on the Arts, may be found in Peltier's "Tableau de l'Europe," 1794, vol. II.

[2] This Mémoire is printed as an Appendix to Dulaure's "Histoire de Paris," 2e Edition, T. IX, p. 421. Although Chabrol was the nominee of Louis XVIII, who disliked allusions to the Revolution, he makes due mention (chap. III) of the Municipal work of the period.

[3] "Bibliographie de l'histoire de Paris pendant la Revolution Française." 4 vols. Paris, 1890–1906.

[4] "Répertoire général des sources manuscrites, etc." 8 vols.

Verniquet himself was employed in collaboration with Duchemin, the Inspecteur-Général du Pavé, in levelling and setting out new streets and frontage lines.[1]

* * *

So much for collateral evidence as to the Commission. In passing to the surer, if narrow, ground provided by the Decrees of the Convention, and the documents embodied in the Procès-verbaux utilized for the preparation of the "reconstituted" plan, it must be remembered that the planning of streets and improvements was but a side-issue to the work of the Administrators of the lands and buildings—chiefly church, conventual, and college property—which had fallen into the hands of the State.[2] Their primary object was that of inventory and advantageous sale; and the division of the properties into suitable lots—

[1] Tuetey, *op. cit.*, T. VI, chap. 5. (Nos. 2,612 *et seq.*, 3,052, etc.).

[2] The Assemblée Constituante, 2 Nov. 1789, had suppressed the Monastic Orders, and confiscated the property of the Church, which was of enormous extent. Louis Lazare, "Etudes Historiques et Municipales," 1872, gives its area as upwards of 4,000,000 square mètres; and it was estimated by the Commission des Artistes as having been worth 100 million francs (about £4,000,000 pre-war value) in 1790; a sum which the depreciation of currency had raised to the fictitious equivalent of three milliards (about £120,000,000) in 1795. (Lettre des Commissaires Artistes au Ministre des Finances. 27 Frimaire, an IV.)

involving a certain amount of street formation—was but one of the means incidental thereto.

At the date of the meetings of the Administration des Travaux-Publics, of which the papers I have referred to are the record, the need for immediate action was urgent, if any kind of control was to be maintained over the development of the sequestrated lands and buildings. Five years had passed since, in 1791, Champion, one of the Administrators of the Public Works Department, had impressed upon the Municipality the importance of seizing the opportunity presented by the sale of the national property, to augment its value by judicious street improvements, for which his Department was already prepared with plans. These plans, it should be noted, were sent with Champion's Report to the Legislature; and are probably those which are known to have been deposited with the Ministère des Finances at the Hotel d'Uzès (Dépt. des Domaines).

This was on March 21. A fortnight later, Mirabeau was dead,[1] and with him the last hope of internal peace. The flight to Varennes turned the uneasy suspicions of the populace into crazy resentment; and, with war on the frontiers and turmoil at home, the storm of the Revolution broke, sweeping mere civic matters from men's

[1] 2 April 1791.

minds in a streaming flood of horror. Meantime, the Church's effects, being available for sorely needed ready-money, were sold piecemeal; and during 1790, 1791, 1792, and the first half of 1793, much public property was alienated without regard to the interests of the City. It was not until after the execution of the King that its division and regulated sale, to which I have referred, was determined by the Convention.[1] In the following June,[2] was passed the decree which is generally quoted as having constituted the "Commission des Artistes," and authorized the preparation of their much-discussed plan; the first three articles only need concern us.

"La Convention nationale décrète ce qui suit :—"

> "Art. 1—L'administrateur des Domaines nationaux est autorisé à faire graver, au trait seulement, et d'après le plan général de la Ville de Paris, dressé par le citoyen Verniquet, sur l'échelle d'une demi-ligne par toise, les plans particuliers de tous les établissements nationaux existant dans toute

[1] By the law of 1–4 April 1793, cited in the title of the "reconstituted plan." (*cf.* p. 76).

[2] Decret du 5 Juin 1793. "La loi qui institua cette Commission"—(Lazare frères—"Dictionnaire des Rues et Monuments," p. 81). *cf.* A. Brette, *supra*. The text of this decree will be found in Duvergier, p. 393. *cf.* Tourneux *op. cit.*, T. III, 12,873.

l'étendue de cette Ville et parties adjacentes, en distinguant les propriétés particulières qui s'y trouveraient enclavées, ou qui les borneraient, et avec indication des rues aboutissantes.

"Art. 2.—L'administration des Domaines nationaux deliverera des exemplaires de ces plans aux artistes qui se soumettront à proposer, dans un délai déterminé, la division et les percées qui peuvent accroître la valeur de ces établissements et en faciliter la vente; le tout à la charge, par les dits artistes, de donner l'estimation de chacun des lots, et de se conformer aux alignements qui seront ordonnés par la Commission de la Municipalité, chargée des travaux publics de la Ville de Paris, et autres conditions qui pourraient être determinées par des motifs d'utilité publique.

"Art. 3.—Les artistes dont les plans auront été adoptés ensuite de l'avis des corps administratifs recevront une indemnité qui sera reglée de concert entre l'administrateur des Domaines nationaux, le département et la Municipalité de Paris."

The tenour of the Decree is perfectly clear. The Convention had no intention whatever of setting up a Committee of artists to prepare a great improvement plan for Paris; on the contrary, it expressly directed that schemes should be obtained

by competition open to all artists, for dividing, and forming new streets upon, the various national properties; in such manner as should best augment their sale-value. The necessary extracts from Verniquet's "plan-général" were to be engraved, and issued to intending competitors; who were to submit their designs and estimates by fixed dates, and be paid for those accepted by the authorities responsible. The measure simply extends to other "domaines" a previous decision of the Convention,[1] which invited competitive designs for laying out new streets upon the properties to the north and east of the Tuileries gardens.

* * *

This competition, which is of sufficient importance to justify a short digression, ensued in due course. The instructions to competitors stipulate that the Palais-national (château des Tuileries), of which the Convention had just taken possession, must be cleared of the buildings[2]

[1] 5 Mai 1793. The programme of this competition was approved on 30 Juin following. *cf.* Lenôtre "Rapport" (*supra*).

[2] " . . . no building must adjoin the National palace. The Sanctuary of the representatives of a great Nation should stand within its own precincts; from which must be excluded all that might sully their purity, and lead to the painful irregularities of which the Palais-Royal presents so dangerous an example." (Décret du 30 Juin.)

surrounding it, and the gardens enclosed by terraces; a wide street is required to connect the Place du Palais de l'Egalité (Palais-Royal) with the Place de la Révolution (place de la Concorde), and provision is to be indicated for a National Theatre in the neighbourhood. "The chief object of the competition," it is repeated, "is to improve the value of the national properties comprised within the area of the site to be dealt with." To this end, competing artists are enjoined to "donner la préférence a tous moyens d'utilisation qui pourraient entrer en concurrence avec des idées de pur embellissement"—to adopt utilitarian methods at the expense of all æsthetic ideas. We are very far here from a general scheme of city improvement.[1] There were three prizes; the first, of 10,000 livres, was won by Auguste Cheval-Hubert, a "grand-prix de Rome" (1784), who was afterwards "architecte de la Ville de Paris"[2]; as to the second and third

[1] It is of interest to Architects to note that the conditions of this competition provided (Art. 10) that artists who desired to remain anonymous might mark their designs with a motto or device, which was to be repeated upon a sealed envelope containing the author's name, qualifications, and address; the envelopes of authors premiated were alone to be opened.

[2] Hubert was also a member of the "Commission temporaire," above referred to. (Tuetey, "Procès-verbaux de la Commission temporaire des Arts," *passim*.)

awards—of 3,000 and 2,000 livres respectively—we know nothing. Hubert's plan was accepted by the Comité de Salut-public, and partially carried into execution. We owe to him the beautiful marble hemi-cycles and sunken lawns under the trees of the Tuileries gardens, adorned with statues by Nicholas and Guillaume Coustou, Gatteaux, and Le Paultre, which are known as the "jardins de Robespierre"; and the setting up of the "Chevaux de Marly," to mark the entrance to the Champs-Elysées. Fortunately, his project of connecting the two blocks of Gabriel's buildings by a triumphal arch, to commemorate "the victory of the People over Tyranny," perished still-born.

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To return to the Commission des Artistes. The laying-out of new streets and other public improvements was controlled by the Minister of the Interior (Dépt. des Travaux-Publics), advised by the Conseils des Bâtiments-civils et des Ponts-et-Chaussées; whereas this commission was under the Minister of Finance (Dépt. des Domaines), who was concerned merely with the conversion of the national property into money, by means of its division and sale. It was under the auspices of this latter authority that the

competitions instituted by the Decree of 5th June were to be held; and the fact is significant, as showing the absence of any intention on the part of the Legislature to associate the fiscal development of the "domaines" with a project for the general beautifying and sweetening of Paris. It is, indeed, inconceivable that they should have entertained such an idea during that time of financial stress; and if the decree of June sprang, as Lazare suggests,[1] from Champion's report, the seed had found but an ungrateful soil.

What then, was the Commission des Artistes, and how came it into being? We find, by the minutes of a meeting held on the 15th Prairial an II (3 June 1794), that the members were Pasquier, Galimard, Verniquet, De Wailly, Cambault, Lenoir, Radel, Chabouillé, Garrez, Callet, and Mouchelet (secretary). They were all, I believe, architects; Mouchelet, Radel, Pasquier, Verniquet, and Chabouillé were also members of the Bâtiments-civils, and Galimard, Garrez, De Wailly, and Nicolas Lenoir, well-known architects; Callet was Inspecteur-Général de la Voirie. They had no executive power whatever; their initiative was—it appears by the Procès-verbaux—so limited, that they could not even communicate with the Bâtiments-civils without

[1] "Dictionnaire des rues," *supra*, p. 81.

an invitation being first obtained by the Minister of Finance from his colleague of the Interior; and, of some eighteen meetings of the Conseils-réunis at which the street projects were discussed, Verniquet and Chabouillé attended but two, Radel three, and Pasquier five. Mouchelet alone seems to have been sufficiently interested in the proceedings to follow them with regularity. A curious point in connection with the records is that no mention occurs of a competition, nor of the name of Hubert—or any other competitor —in the minutes of either the Conseils-réunis or of the Commission itself. Lenôtre may well ask[1] "Quelle était cette Commission?" whose intervention in the matter only appears with the advent of the Directory, after the dissolution of the National Convention (5th October 1795).

I have given the facts as I find them; and I venture to add the conclusions to which their collation has led me. It is probable that these architects had been appointed by the Minister of Finance, to assist him in organizing and perhaps in assessing further competitions as authorized by the Decree of June 1793. As, owing to the troubled times, these were never held, the architects proceeded to consider various schemes which had been already formulated, including

[1] "Rapport," *supra*.

those deposited at the Hôtel d'Uzès; and, when the opportunity arose under the Directory, they put these projects before the Conseils réunis des Ponts-et-Chaussées et des Bâtiments-civils, who alone had any power to deal with the matter, as their own recommendations. British architects would, doubtless, look askance nowadays, upon such an action on the part of a body of assessors; but competition etiquette is a thing of recent years, and, even now, is perhaps less strict in other countries than in our own. The Commissaires would not have been conscious of any irregularity in the proceeding, as regards their own profession, though their silence, for more than two years, suggests some doubt as to how it might be viewed officially. Be this as it may: it is clear that no Commission of Artists for the "embellissement et assainissement de la Commune de Paris" was appointed by the Convention, and that its functions were, in so far, self-assumed. The first part of the title it adopted resumes its true attribute, which was to assist the Minister of Finance in the "division des grandes propriétés nationales."

* * *

As to the plan prepared by the Commission des Artistes, which was "reconstituted" in the plan of 1889, it pretty certainly never existed. Some

street projects are found sketched on odd sheets of Verniquet's detailed plottings, but there is nothing to show that even these were the work of this shadowy Commission.[1] Lenôtre believes that a mere confusion between these sketch plans and the great "plan général" of Verniquet, has "given birth to a legend which should be demolished." He adds that "a 'Plan des Artistes' comprising a great scheme of improvements for the whole city, is a myth; and we may assert positively that it never existed." [2]

The report of the members of the Commission du Vieux Paris to which I have alluded, is to the same effect, though more cautiously worded.

[1] A curious point is, that Verniquet himself is known to have prepared a plan of Paris improvements, which he submitted to the Comité d'Instruction-publique. This authority sent the plan to its dependent "Commission temporaire des Arts," four of whose members—Buache, a geographer; Le Roy and Lannoy, architects; and Prony, an engineer—were appointed (23 Juin 1794) to examine it, and prepare a report; which was to be communicated to the *Comité des domaines!* Verniquet was, as we know, a member of the very Commission des Artistes, *attached to the Comité des domaines*, whose history we are deciphering. Yet, he sent his plan, *not* to the parent body of that Commission, but to the department of l'Instruction-publique. The conclusion is irresistible; the Commission des Artistes was concerned solely with the division of the national properties, and had nothing to do with "embellissements." (*cf.* Tuetey.—"Procès-verbaux de la Commission temporaire des Arts," vol. i, p. 241).

[2] For reference to the Rapport of Lenôtre here quoted, see p. 93.

"Up to the present," they say, "there is nothing to prove" that Verniquet's plan "served as a basis for any comprehensive scheme of street alignments, demolitions, or constructions." But they are of opinion that such a plan must have been used, whether by Verniquet or by the Administration, for collating isolated schemes and recording sales of the national properties. For this suggestion there appear to be no grounds, beyond a desire to avoid denouncing a document which has acquired a legal status in determining the obligations attaching to certain titles of property dealt with by the Municipality. It is significant that one of the members, M. Brette, had previously protested [1] that, if the premises put forward were proved, "the City of Paris must have officially recognized a fictitious document, and that consequently the plan des Artistes as it actually exists might be contested"; an argument which does not seem to affect the question at issue.

Although the popular legend of a great plan for remodelling Paris, prepared by a band of enthusiastic "sans-culotte" artists during the reign of Terror, cannot survive historic scrutiny; the "reconstituted plan" is undoubtedly based upon the material supplied to the Conseils-réunis, by the Commission des artistes. This material

[1] Brette.—"Le Siècle" (*supra*)

was, however, as regards its more important features, neither original, so far as the Commission was concerned, nor new at the time they produced it. The formation of the Rue de Rivoli, for example, with the complementary Rue de Castiglione, was under consideration in 1778, or even earlier [1]; the object then, as afterwards in the competition of 1793, being the isolation of the Tuileries Gardens from properties which adjoined it; and the connection of the Carrousel with the Place de la Concorde. The disengagement of the church of Saint-Sulpice had been designed by Servandoni, and the first stone of the new Place laid in 1754. The Avenue from the Luxembourg to the Observatory was the conception of the younger Peyre [2]; and the scheme for a great monu-

[1] Jaillot.—"Lettre sur les embellissements de Paris," 21 Oct. 1778. The rue de Castiglione, with its arcaded lower story, was a much older proposal, and was part of an original project of Louvois in 1686, contemporary with the Place Vendôme. (Hénard.—"La rue de Rivoli," vol. ii, p. 256.)

[2] A. M. Peyre, neveu (a pupil, with Percier and Fontaine, of his uncle, Peyre "le jeune"). "Mon projet est encore de percer une avenue dans le terrain des Chartreux; elle partiroit du point milieu du bâtiment (i.e., the Luxembourg) a l'extremité du parterre, et arriveroit à une demi-lune, qui réuniroit les Boulevards la rue d'Enfer, la route d'Orleans, et la rue de la Bourbe. Au centre de cette demi-lune seroit une fontaine jaillissante, dont les eaux forment un petit abreuvoir au milieu de la rue d'Enfer. Je fais s'embrancher dans cette avenue un autre cours qui arriveroit en face du Val-de-Grace. et qui passeroit au milieu du jardin des ci-devant Carmélites.

mental road from the Bastille, or rather from the Barrière de Vincennes to the Louvre, dated at the least from the Triumphal Entry into Paris of Louis XIV and Marie-Thérèse in 1660. This latter project was supported by Colbert, and afterwards by Napoleon,[1] but was hopelessly inconsistent with the prolongation of the Rue de Rivoli eastward from the Palais-Royal. It is needless to multiply instances, or, indeed, to insist upon the fact which they prove. Great plans are not created by Committees—whether of professionals or laymen—whose tendency is inevitably towards compromise, and a least-common-denominator; but by individual artists inspired by emulation and encouragement.

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The historical argument may be followed into by-ways of fascinating interest to the student of

A l'extrémité de la grande avenue, du coté du jardin du Luxembourg, je fais passer une rue le long des murs de ce jardin; elle donneroit, d'un coté, rue d'Enfer, et de l'autre, rue Notre-Dame-des-Champs et les terreins de l'extrémité retranchée du Luxembourg auroient dedans des debouchés." (Lettre au Comité d'Instruction-publique. Bibl. Hist. de la Revolution. B.M. F. 10*, F. 11.*)

[1] "l'idée . . . est aussi ancienne que la Ville de Paris." Napoléon (Note à Montalivet, 14 Sep. 1810). The Commission des Artistes repeated only the original proposal of 1778, in which the rue de Rivoli terminated at the Carrousel. It is incorrectly indicated on the "reconstituted plan," as continued eastward to the rue du Louvre.

Paris, and the references I have given will provide the necessary clues for those who would pursue it further; but, if a great plan has been produced, the questions of how, and by whose means, it came into existence are but of extraneous and secondary import. I propose, therefore, to complete my observations by a brief examination of the intrinsic merits of the "reconstituted plan," and the recommendations of the Commission des Artistes which it purports to represent.

The criteria proper for its estimation are two in number. First, does it mark any considerable advance from the projects which preceded it? and, second, does it provide for the needs of its time?

Consideration shows that it fails hopelessly when tried by the standards, whether of anterior or of succeeding plans. The material is not only not original, as we have seen, but it is not handled in a great manner. The narrow outlook of the earlier Bourbons still obtains; the suburbs and their approaches are ignored, and the future extension of the city is left to fate. A great number of internal streets are planned, but arterial communications are neglected, and no attempt is made to link up the masses on the right and left banks of the Seine.[1] A glance at the

[1] One new bridge only is indicated, between the Ile Saint-Louis and the Port-au-bois; yet the communications between

respective plans is sufficient to show the timid complication of its lines, when compared with the masterful simplicity of those of Colbert and Blondel. Here is no trace of the clear prescience which marked Haussmann's ruthless surgery.

Nor were the division and laying-out of the national lands—the proper work of the Commission—guided solely by the dictates of town-planning; or even of public finance. The trail of the politician is clearly visible. Without, perhaps, subscribing Lazare's charges [1] of deliberate intention to mutilate and destroy the public monuments, we must admit that the "reconstituted plan" indicates little anxiety to preserve them. The case of the quite unnecessary street, which would have involved the demolition of the fine church of SS. Gervais-et-Protais, with De Brosse's west front, is a typical,

the Iles,—Notre-Dame, Saint-Louis, and Louviers,—had already been the subject of a competition in 1791. (Lacroix.—"Collection de documents relatifs à l'histoire de Paris," T. VI.) The pont d'Iéna, which is shown as new, already existed as a bridge of boats constructed at the time of the Fête de la Fédération in 1790.

[1] "Ainsi telle rue devait être percée, telle place ouverte, non uniquement pour répandre l'air et la vie, mais dans le but de détruire un monument, pour abattre une croix, pour faire de l'argent. . . . des hommes politiques ont dit: Coupez cet hôtel, abattez ce palais, renversez cette église; nous ne voulons plus de nobles, nons n'avons plus de roi, nous ne croyons plus en Dieu!" ("Dictionnaire des rues et monuments," p. 82.)

if minor, instance. A still more grievous sacrilege intended by the "artistes" was prevented by the Conseils-réunis, who, to their credit, refused to sanction the destruction of the splendid church of the Oratory, by Lemercier and Mansart [1]; and the plan accordingly leaves it intact.

This is but a sorry consequence to the flourish of principles [2] with which the Commission prefaced their proposals. We may forgive their lack of courage, remembering the danger, in their time, of showing—or being suspected of showing—sympathy with the Church, or its belongings; we are not the less thankful that the executive work was reserved for stronger hands than theirs.

As regards their width of scope, and the scale of their conception, the proposals of the Commission des Artistes—in so far as they were its own—cannot compare with those of its forerunners. The seed from which sprang the great

[1] "L'assemblée . . . a aussi pensé que la ci-devant église de l'Oratoire pouvant être employée à un établissement public, il était utile de conserver ce monument qui mérite l'attention des artistes." (Séance du 24 Germinal, an IV. 13 April 1796.)

[2] "Convaincue que des operations faites isolément sur chaque domaine n'atteindraient jamais le but qu'on s'était proposé, elle a pensé que son travail devait embrasser des bases qui pussent se lier avec les changements ultérieurs que la masse informe des anciennes rues pouvaient nécessiter, etc." (Lettre des Commissaires artistes au Ministre des Finances 27 Frimaire an IV. 18 Déc. 1795.)

urban works of the Empire and the nineteenth century, was sown by the "ancien régime," before ever potatoes were planted in the Tuileries Gardens [1]; and their origin may be traced more particularly to the plan signed by Louis XV, in 1769, to which I have referred in the course of these observations.

This plan, prepared by Moreau,[2] the directeur des bâtiments de la Ville de Paris, is still preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and, it may be hoped, will one day find a place among the admirable reproductions of old Paris plans published by the Municipality. It is remarkable, not so much for its extent—save for the clearance of the congested area around Saint-Eustache, the extension of the Place du Palais-Royal, and the enlargement and opening-up of the Hôtel-de-Ville, the improvements refer chiefly to the river-side quays and frontages—as for the completeness of its co-ordinated and related scheme. The "Lettres patentes" for its execution might have been taken from a County Council (Powers) Bill. The Municipality was given authority to acquire

[1] By order of the Convention, in 1793.

[2] Louis-Pierre Moreau-Desproux was guillotined in 1793. He designed the south front and other portions of the Palais-Royal, and completed the porch of Saint-Eustache; he was architect of the Opera, burned down in 1781, and of many other works.

the necessary properties by compulsory purchase; and, if the compensation due to an expropriated owner could not be amicably agreed, its value was to be settled by the award of the city architect and of an arbitrator appointed by the aggrieved proprietor; with the "premier architecte du Roi" as umpire in case of difference. The same procedure was to be followed for the compensation of tenants. In making these valuations, account was to be taken of the "betterment" accruing to portions of property not purchased, by reason of the contemplated improvements; and no unauthorized alterations or reparations could be made to buildings affected by the proposals of the plan. Provision was also made for the re-sale by the Municipality of surplus land, or, alternatively, for its retention for building purposes. The value of this plan is shown by the fact that, with unimportant exceptions, the whole scheme has been carried out, step by step. Of the proposals indicated on the "reconstituted plan," a rough calculation, on a kilometric basis, shows that only one half—even if we include the projects of previous years—have been, or are likely to be, executed.

* * *

The second touchstone with which to try the "reconstituted plan," is the sufficiency of its pro-

vision for what are known to have been the civic needs of its time. The years which preceded the Revolution show a record of dissatisfaction with the existing state of Paris, and of active interest in the problem of improving, not only its commercial and artistic, but its hygienic conditions. "Town-planning," as we call it, heretofore regarded merely as a monumental expression of the King's glory and enterprise, had come to be demanded by public opinion as necessary to the common welfare.

Forty years before, Voltaire had drawn a biting contrast between the splendour of the Tuileries, the Champs Elysées, and Versailles, and the squalor of central Paris. "The expenditure on three of the Groves at Versailles," he wrote,[1] "would have sufficed for the necessary improvements of the Capital. We need public markets, fountains with abundant water, and proper open spaces; the narrow and mean streets must be widened, the great buildings, which are hidden, opened to view, and others built where they can be seen." He invokes the rebuilding of London after the Great Fire, to support his appeal. "Are we to wait," he cries, "until Paris

[1] "Des embellissements de Paris," 1749. (Œuvres de Voltaire. Edition Garnier, vol. XXIII. Mélanges 2, p. 297.) "Les embellissements de la Ville de Cachemire." 1756. (*ibid.*, p. 473.)

is burned down before we improve it?" The architect Patte took up the tale a little later.[1] "There are whole districts," says he, "between which there is hardly any communication. . . . The Cité especially has hardly changed for three centuries; it remains in the confusion where the ignorance of our ancestors left it." Being a technician, he sees the true remedy. "Half Paris has been rebuilt during the last fifty years, without its having occurred to any one to subject it to a general plan, and without any attempt to alter the defective distribution of the streets." He calls for the removal of cemeteries outside the walls, for a better water-supply such as Colbert had proposed, for the demolition of houses on the bridges,[2] and other measures necessary as well for the health as for the beauty of the City. His views are sound and practical. "To achieve so desirable an end," he writes, "I do not insist, as so many have done, that it would be necessary to destroy and reconstruct Paris, in order to make it beautiful; on the contrary, I think everything of value should be preserved, with all such districts and buildings as are well grouped, so that they

[1] "Des embellissements de Paris." (Monumens à la gloire de Louis XV. 2e partie, chap. xviii.) 1767.

[2] This had been the subject of a project in 1748 (*cf.* "Bibl. Hist. de la Révolution." B.M.—F. 1228, i).

may be combined, with art, into a harmonious whole. To this end," he continues, "it would be well to begin by preparing an adequately detailed general plan of the Capital; prints of which should be distributed to all our competent artists, with invitations to submit competitive designs." He sums up the whole theory of town-planning in a few words. "It is not necessary to the beauty of a town, that it should be laid out with cold symmetry, and be an assembly of houses regularly disposed in squares or parallelograms. The essential points are, that all its approaches should be convenient; that there should be ample issues from one quarter to another for the transport of merchandise, and the free circulation of vehicles; and that the whole scheme should disengage from the centre to the circumference without confusion. Above all, the avoidance of monotony, and of too great uniformity, should be studied in the general distribution of the plan; contriving, on the contrary, variety and contrast of form, so that all districts are not alike. The observer should not see everything at a glance; he should be constantly attracted by a pleasant and varied novelty, to excite, pique, and revive his curiosity." Our architect is already far ahead of the heterogeneous projects presented by the Commission des Artistes, twenty years and more afterwards.

The civic discontent of which Voltaire and Patte had been the exponents, found direct expression in the Petitions of grievance (cahiers de doléances)[1] presented by the electorate to the States-General in 1789. These complain of the dirt and danger of the narrow and crowded streets, and demand better provision of quays for the river-borne traffic, better communication between the right and left banks, the removal of abattoirs and cemeteries[2] to the outlying suburbs, new markets, hospitals, and the like. Other and more desperate troubles, as we know, were to occupy those to whom these petitions were addressed. Tournon's ingenious and simple scheme for the removal of surface water might otherwise have had a trial, and, perhaps, have altered the whole evolution of the closed sewer.

The subject was not allowed to drop. Even during the headlong days of the Revolution, we find the Districts and Sections busy with representations of local disabilities, and proposals for their redress; suggesting also schemes of æsthetic

[1] The reference for these schemes is "Les Elections et les Cahiers de Paris en 1789," par Chassin. Paris, 1888–1889. 4 vols. An abstract of them is given in the "Aperçu Historique," already referred to.

[2] In 1788, a "Mémoire" had been presented by M. Dehorme urging their removal outside Paris. ("Bibl. Hist. de la Révolution," *supra*.)

improvement, some of great interest. The Registers of the Section des Gobelins show the report of a committee, in February 1791, as to the construction of a bridge, to be of stone, and toll-free, opposite the Salpétrière; in order to connect the north and south parts of the city. They insist that the necessity for this bridge had been proved more than fifty years before; and they have plans, prepared by the Sieur Le Roi de Chamigny, with an estimate of cost of 3,000,000 livres. In February 1790, the District of Saint-Jacques l'Hôpital puts forward a project for a monument, "à la gloire de Louis XVI," in the Place Dauphine, opposite the statue of Henri IV. The demolition of the Porte Saint-Bernard and the prison de la Tournelle, "which are dilapidated, and obstruct the traffic of the wagons conveying wood, stone, and wine, and the great crowds of foot passengers," is the subject of an address by 129 citizens of the Section du Jardin des Plantes. Not content with pointing out the structural defects of the gateway, caused by certain rooms formed in the frieze and attic "which have been let to washerwomen, and the joists and flooring rotted by the water they use," the citizens criticize Blondel's design as architecturally "vicious," since it has a centre pier in place of a void! While regretting the loss involved by J. B. Tuby's bas-reliefs, which,

instead of being separate panels, are cut in the solid stone, they cannot regard these as important enough to justify the preservation of so unworthy an edifice; moreover, they add, rather inconsistently, the gateway has been so often drawn and engraved that, "il en restera par ce moyen un souvenir bien suffisant!" Both prison and gateway, the latter a poor specimen of Blondel's work, and an undoubted obstruction, were pulled down in 1797.[1]

We remark the Section des Cordeliers also actively engaged on an improvement plan; the particular theme being the disposal of the Bastille site.[2] They are greatly concerned, like others of the time, for the housing of the National Assembly with due dignity, and have strong views as to the suitability of this site for the purpose. "It cries aloud," so it seems to them, "for the purification of its air by the erection of this Temple of Liberty." There is good historical precedent, too, for the situation, since "the Greeks built the Temple of Delphi upon the den of the Serpent Pithon."

Every student of the Revolution is familiar with the grotesque incongruities, between the

[1] The date is erroneously given in nearly all the histories as 1787. Bonnardot and Barroux state it correctly.

[2] Bibl. Hist. de la Révolution," *v. supra.* (Extrait des Déliberations du District des Cordeliers. 24 Février 1790.)

actors and their parts, which relieve that grimy drama; and the debate of the Cordeliers, on the occasion referred to, supplies one of the most curious instances. The omen of the Serpent Pithon having been accepted by the members as favourable, it is decided, on the motion of no less a celebrity than Mademoiselle Théroigne,[1] that designs for the Palace of the Representatives be obtained by setting up a competition, for which she has drawn up the programme. A subscription list is to be opened, and the names of subscribers printed and published from time to time. All Architects, and Artists—it is Mademoiselle who draws the distinction—are invited, whether French or foreign, to compete for the Prize which will be awarded "to the conception most worthy of the grandeur of the subject." The Resolution is to be addressed to the fifty-nine other Districts, and to all the Municipalities of the Empire, after being first presented to the National Assembly. It is requested that the Assembly will, itself, adjudge the prize of 2,000 écus, and "crown"

[1] "Lambertine Théroigne de Méricourt," also known, in England, as the Comtesse de Campinados. Her real name was Anne-Josephe Terwagne. She was a conspicuous figure in the tumults of the early Revolutionary days, and her name is associated with those of many of the leaders of the time. After a life of adventure and debauchery, she became insane, and died, most horribly, in the Salpétrière Hospital. (De Reiset.—"La Vraie Théroigne de Méricourt.")

the successful Artist. As we are already at the end of February, it is urged that the work should proceed at once, so that the first stone may be laid on the 14th of July following ![1] Such were the proposals drafted by Carlyle's "brown-locked Diana," surely the oddest sponsor for a document of the kind since competitions were invented.

But little response is to be found, in the recommendations of the Commission des Artistes, to the public criticism and suggestions which I have indicated as existing during the second half of the eighteenth century. We look in vain for proposals regarding the abattoirs and cemeteries, which were recognized as of urgent hygienic necessity, and received the instant care of Napoleon. The Halles were to be rebuilt, it is true (though the surrounding tangle of congested streets is left untouched), and the pedlars of the rue Saint-Honoré to be provided with a proper market, which was subsequently built (the Marché Saint-Honoré) on the very site condemned by the Commission as impracticable. There is some provision of new quays. But the "reconstituted plan" is by no means abreast of the public demands of its time. On the practical side it falls short of the known and acknowledged needs, as

[1] The name of Fabre d'Elantines [*sic*] is attached to the report, as one of the secretaries.

we have already seen it fail to reach the existent standards of plan design.

The importance which has attached to the plan has arisen, partly, from the date of its "reconstitution," an epoch when special interest was aroused in all matters connected with the Revolution; and partly, it is to be suspected, from a lack of critical examination of the projects it embodies, which has led those who refer to it as the basis of the great subsequent development of Paris to accept it as an original creation; instead of, as it really is, a medley of schemes of earlier date, tacked on to merely commercial suggestions for promoting the sale of the National properties. The real work of "embellissement et assainissement," the ordered sanitary and artistic improvement of Paris the Capital—as distinct from the monuments of Capetian glory, and piecemeal amendments—began with Napoleon; though its need, as we have seen, had been recognized long before his time. The theory that the ideas of the "Commission des Artistes" prepared the groundwork upon which were founded the achievements of the Empire, and of its successors, is not sustained by an examination of the facts.

*
* *

The story of the "Plan des Artistes" sheds its own small side-light on the tremendous doings

of the Revolution; and some patient student of the period may, one day, unearth the missing fragments of the narrative which I have pieced together. They are scarce likely to lie on this side of the Channel. As to these present observations, my purpose is, not to maintain a thesis—it may well be that other, and sounder, conclusions are to be drawn from the facts I give—but, to relate what is known of this singular episode in the evolution of Paris; that most fascinating of all subjects to the student of town-planning.

One word more. In the wonderful "Etudes archéologiques" of Bonnardot[1] (1851) will be found a list of the numerous (I had almost said innumerable) plans of Paris improvements, made during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. That of Moreau is therein cited (p. 247) as being, at the time Bonnardot wrote, in the archives of the Hôtel-de-Ville.[2] There is, naturally, no mention of a plan prepared by the "Commission des Artistes." But, he refers (p. 245) to a "vast manuscript plan without date," in his own possession, whereon have been sketched a great number of suggested improvements which, though

[1] With "Appendice" (1877). Bonnardot died in 1884.

[2] The sheets appear, on the authority of the "Aperçu historique," to be now "tant à la Bibliothèque Nationale que dans une collection particulière." There is also a partial copy at the Archives Nationales.

unsigned, he conjectures to have been the work of the architect Wailly. Now, Wailly was, as we have seen, a member of the Commission, and is known to have prepared scores of such projects. This "vast plan" is said by Bonnardot to be to the same scale as that of Verniquet and mounted, like his,[1] upon canvas. Have we here a glimpse of the lost "Plan des Artistes," and the origin of the apocryphal creation of the Commission?

[1] Verniquet's great plan was mounted on canvas, and nailed upon the oak table which I have described. (*cf.* Monin, *op cit.*, p. xxi.)

To Thomas Hardy, O.M., Hon.F.R.I.B.A.

A WAR MEMORIAL OF THE LAST CENTURY

THE WELLINGTON MONUMENT.

From a Photograph.

A WAR MEMORIAL OF THE LAST CENTURY

FROM the parapet of its "square solid tower" on the Quantocks, the Laodicean lady of Stancy Castle must have marked, time and again, the monumental pillars with which the heights of Outer Wessex are crowned in honour of her glorious sons. Far eastward, the Hood Column[1] with its splendid naval crown of masonry pricking the Butleigh breast of the Poldens; next, Capability Brown's pillar in the grounds of Pitt's house at Pynsent; and, due south of Stancy, the Wellington needle on the Blackdowns above Taunton;—"Toneborough, where I am erecting a town hall," as "Mr. Havill an architect of Markton, . . . author of most of the noteworthy buildings in the neighbourhood," calls it. This was in the 'seventies, before the de-

(1) Who was the designer of this noble and vigorous composition? The County Histories do not mention his name, and local antiquarian research has failed to trace it. Can any of my readers rescue it from most undeserved oblivion?

cretal of austere " R.I.B.A. Regulations for Architectural Competitions "; and the peculiar resemblance of the design for Stancy prepared by the gentleman in question, to that of his rival competitor, seems to have caused no misgiving in the simple Institute minds of those days, to whom both were submitted. " Singularly equal and singularly good. She would do well to accept either. Signed So-and-So, Fellows of the Royal Institute of British Architects," ran, as we are told, their surprising award. Mr. Havill's standard of professional morality was certainly deplorable; although he protested " I peeped at his drawing —that's all ! " we know that he had filched a tracing of his opponent's plan. But " So-and-So," by reason of their affixes, must have been competent and, by the same token, incorruptible. How, then, account for two " original and fascinating " drawings, " identical except in ornamental details," exciting neither remark nor enquiry by the Assessors ? The matter is closed; it is useless, and might prove painful, to investigate further, *étouffons l'affaire ;* moreover, it has nothing whatever to do with our story.

* * *

The second decade of the nineteenth century, as of the twentieth, saw the termination of a

terrible war by a decisive British victory; then as now, the nation sought, by outward and visible signs, to preserve the memory of its heroes for all time. To this end, a Committee of gentlemen met at the Thatched House Tavern in Saint James's Street, on the 19th January, 1816, and passed with unanimity the following Resolutions:

"1st. *Resolved.* That when the subscription shall have continued open for the space of one year from this date, the sum of fifty guineas shall be given for the best plan or model of the column to be erected in honour of the splendid victories gained by his Grace the Duke of Wellington.

"2nd. That a contract shall be entered into with such Architects as shall engage to execute the design, as approved, in the cheapest and best manner—regard being had to durability and effect.

"3rd. That the said building shall be erected in the course of three years, from the period when the design shall be delivered over to the person who shall be chosen to execute the same."

The resolutions indicate some confusion in the minds of the Committee as to the respective functions of architect and contractor, and our curiosity as to how the competition was conducted

is not gratified. But a design emanated in due course, and this we find described (with a wood-cut
Fig. 7 of which we reproduce a *fac-simile*) in "A Letter to Lord Portman with some particulars respecting the Wellington Monument in Somersetshire, by Arthur Kinglake."[1] Were it not for the absence of the familiar claim that its merit "depends rather on grouping and composition than on elaboration of detail," we might assume it to be quoted textually from the architect's "competition Report":—

"The plan of the Pillar is triangular, which form will produce the effect of a square constructed on the same base or of a circle whose diameter is equal to a side of the triangle (*sic*), consequently a saving of one half in materials is effected. The basement of the Design is formed by a circular flight of steps eighty feet in diameter and eight feet in height, divided by three blocks projecting from the angle of the base of the Pillar. These blocks are to be appropriated to Dwellings for an English, Irish and Scotch veteran."

The economy of material, and the exiguous height of the "Dwellings" in this National Housing Scheme, would have appealed to a Dr. Addison of the day; but the drawings might

[1] Father of the famous author of *Eothen*, and the *History of the War in the Crimea*. The Kinglakes were Taunton folk.

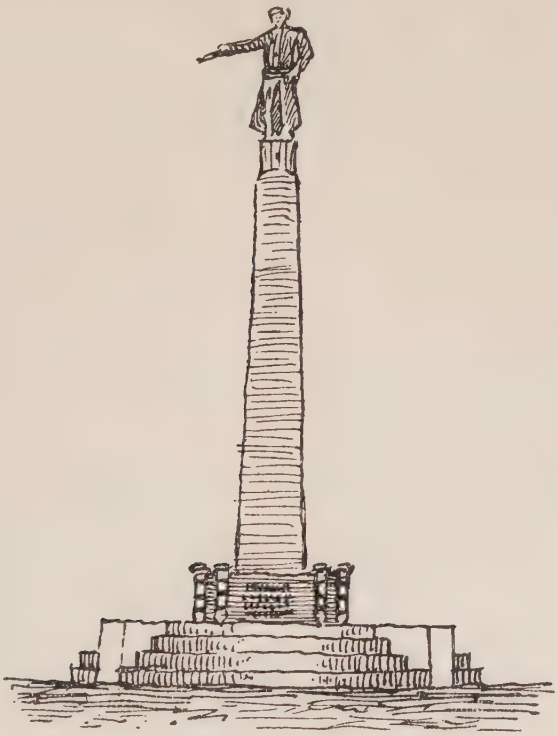

Fig. 7.—*The Design.*
From a Woodcut

have been returned by his Regional Commissioner with a suggestion that doors and windows—quite ignored in "the Design"—should be provided.

"From the circular basement," continues our authority, "rises the triangular plinth of the Pillar presenting three faces for an Inscription

in different languages. The angles are defended and ornamented with three brass cannon selected from those taken at the battle of Waterloo and presented by His Royal Highness the Prince Regent.

" The plinth immediately supports the prismatic shaft of the Pillar ninety-five feet in height, diminishing from seventeen feet in diameter (*sic*) to eleven at the top. A perforated circular pedestal ornamented with wreaths surmounts the Pillar, supporting a Colossal Statue in cast iron, of the illustrious Duke of Wellington, in the attitude of commanding, represented in the dress he wore at the Glorious battle of Waterloo.

" The total height, including the figure, is 140 feet.

"An entrance to the Pillar is contrived by a concealed flight of steps, descending from the top of the Terrace on the basement; thence a subterranean passage leads to a vaulted corridor reserved between the plinth and the shaft of the Pillar. On one side of the corridor, and opposite the arch of the Entrance passage, a door-way opens to stairs in the centre of the Pillar, conducting to the circular pedestal under the Figure, through the perforations of which, both seas will be distinctly visible."

The problem of reconstructing the " dynamic

symmetry " of this monument from the description given may serve to beguile the night watches of some sleepless architect-student on the eve of his " Final," and he may ride his choice of nightmare plans and sections through the subterranean passage and vaulted corridor, in desperate hope of escape by an impossible stair. " Both seas " still ebb and flow, but alas! as we shall see, neither he nor any other may find his way to the pedestal under the Figure " through the perforations of which " they were to be " distinctly visible."

Next year, the *Taunton Courier*, of 23rd October, 1817, reports the proceedings at the laying of the Foundation stone, with Lord Somerville's speech, in which he announces that " The Architect gladly offers to contribute one half the amount of his profit on the superintendence, in order to have the honour of adding his name to the list of subscribers." Whether this honour was a condition of his employment, the result of delicate suggestion with which he felt it wise to comply (such things have been known!), or claimed as of his own " mere motion," we may believe as we prefer; it clearly implied no mention of his name. However this may be, the Committee seem to have placed little confidence either in their own judgment or in that of their honoured

architect; for, later in his Lordship's speech occurs this passage, "The Ancients not having adopted this form of building" (he refers evidently to the triangular plan), "it was suspected that some latent but solid objection must exist as to its adoption, therefore the drawing of the Pillar was shown to Mr. Soane, Professor of Architecture, who has expressed his approval."

Even Soane's opinion did not reassure the Committee, who proceeded to show the design to "various other men of science and taste"; among them being "the person who has charge of the public buildings at Edinburgh." The reply of this "person" is a model of skilfully evaded responsibility. "My Lord," he writes from Edinburgh under date of 10th June, 1817, "In consequence of your permission I have shewed the drawing of the Triangular Pillar to various Gentlemen of acknowledged taste, as well as to professional men of reputation" (the distinction drawn here is delightful!) "and I have much satisfaction in stating, that the result is very favourable to the plan, and likewise to the elevation of it. The great saving in building materials and of labor, which accrues by adopting the Triangular form, is considered to outweigh (where saving of expense is an object) any objection that can be urged against it; and

although not found among the works of the ancients, there appears no good reason why it may not be used by their posterity. . . ." [1]

It was all in vain. The soul of the Committee was profoundly disquieted by the proposed departure from the methods of "the Ancients" and found no solace in the comfortable words of tasteful and reputable posterity. Wisdom, it seemed, must be sought in a greater multitude of counsellors, and, continues Lord Somerville despairingly: "I took occasion to wait on as many Subscribers, Marquises, Earls, Viscounts, and M.P.'s as possible, and"—his relief sighs in our sympathizing ears through a century of time—"in no solitary instance has any objection been made."

Being thus, at last, assured as to its triangular propriety, "Their Royal Highnesses the Dukes of York, Clarence, and Cambridge have condescended to subscribe to the erection of this Pillar."

The ceremonial proceedings were ended by a "most excellent dinner," with many toasts and speeches; the chief honours falling, as one gathers, to Captain Crofton, R.N., whose speech in reply to "the Wooden Walls of Old England" is punctuated with "(continued

[1] This letter is signed "W. Trotter."

applause)." The *Taunton Courier* shall complete the chronicle :—

" Had our illustrious Chief " (continued Capt. C.) " being (*sic*) present that day, on that high point of land overlooking this country, and destined to immortalize the place where he was honoured by his title ;—had he heard the exulting thunders of applause, of thousands of his countrymen, from the Peer to the peasant,—we might venture to assert that he would have experienced an emotion scarcely less, than when he stood on the heights of the Pyrenees, looking down to the vales of France amid the ' Earthquake shout of Victory.' The Honble. Baronet has justly termed this Column the child of him who (*sic*) I feel proud and honoured in calling my friend. I cannot avoid saying that it is indeed his offspring, under the happiest auspices fostered by his care, and adopted by the affection of a whole country.

" This energetic and unpremeditated effusion of British feeling, was interrupted in its delivery by the repeated cheerings of the company.

" The President then submitted to the company the health of Mr. Lee, the architect " (whose name thus emerges for the first time), " who though a young man, had exhibited on this and other occasions, the most decisive proofs of extraordinary skill and merit. His abilities

he felt confident would secure to him an early and honourable eminence in his profession (applause).

"After a course of enlightened conviviality, admirably sustained by the President throughout the evening, the company separated about 9 o'clock."

*
* *

The little epic ends in a minor strain. Despite the brave beginning, the stone laid with due rites and libations, the gods were not propitious; *apicem rapax Fortuna sustulit*, and the monument was never built to its full height. "That thing don't take, eh?" said the Iron Duke, grimly contemplating its unfinished state. In January 1853, as appears from the report of one Charles E. Giles, the truncated shaft had fallen into grievous disrepair, the summit being "quite open and apparently unfinished." The sandstone facing of its flint walls had crumbled "entirely into ruin," and the core of the pedestal was exposed "in many cases for several feet in length." One of the angles had been rent by lightning two years before, and examination revealed (ah! that half of the "profit on the superintendence" which the architect was honoured to forego) "an almost entire want of bond between the sandstone facing

Pl. VII

and the flint backing or rubble-work." As for the inscription recording its erection "in basso relievo of cast iron," this, too, had been "nearly entirely" removed.

A subscription was raised; the column restored and completed in its present state—perhaps by "Mr. Havill of Markton," certainly not by his rival, George Somerset, who was then but a babe. I doubt if Paula's father subscribed to the cost; he would probably have had a "conscientious objection" to spending anything on a structure which reminded him of the valour which had saved his country, and left him free—to amass wealth and buy Stancy Castle.

THE STRANGE FORTUNES OF A KING'S MONUMENT

THE PLACE DES VICTOIRES, *cir* 1698.

Looking towards the rue des Fossés-Montmartre (now rue d'Aboukir). From the Engraving by Guévard.

THE STRANGE FORTUNES OF A KING'S MONUMENT

(*LA PLACE DES VICTOIRES.*)

WHEN that vainglorious, but very valiant gentleman, François Duc de la Feuillade, Peer and Marshal of France, Governor of Dauphiné, and Colonel of the Gardes-Françaises, thought fit to intimate that the dignity of "Vicomte d'Aubusson" had been bestowed upon him "by God and by his sword," it was recognized that the first part of his title would be difficult to disprove, and the second inadvisable to contest. Louis, the "Sun-King," was graciously indulgent, "so long," said he, "as La Feuillade allows that I am 'aussi bon gentilhomme que lui' I am content," knowing well that he had a no more devoted subject in his kingdom.

The Marshal was moreover, for all his noble vanity, a shrewd old soldier with a very honest adoration of his Royal master; and, when the treaty

of Nymegen had gloriously terminated the war in Holland, and crowned his own brilliant succession of military achievements, he bethought himself of erecting a statue of the King which might adroitly commemorate both the subject and the donor. To this end, he commissioned the Dutch sculptor Van-den-Bogaert,—who had been employed in the royal gardens of Versailles and become Frenchified into "Desjardins, member of the King's Academy of Painting and Sculpture,"—turned the garden of his own Hôtel de Saint-Chaumont, near the Porte Saint-Denis, into a sculptor's studio, and in due course invited Louis to inspect the work. The Monarch approved the marble tribute, and ordered it to be placed in the Orangery at Versailles; a destination which may, or may not, have been in accord with La Feuillade's private views! At any rate he promptly charged the sculptor with the execution of a second statue, this time of bronze, and took his own steps to secure for it an appropriate setting. The vast and costly Hôtel de la Ferté-Senectère (la "Grande Senneterre"), in the then newly fashionable quarter of the Palais Cardinal, being in the market after the death of its spendthrift owner, La Feuillade bought it for 222,000 livres, cleared the space it occupied between the rues Neuve-des-Petits-Champs, du Petit-Reposoir and

des Fossés-Montmartre (now the rue d'Aboukir), and called in Jules-Hardouin Mansart to design a "Place," which should becomingly enshrine his monument. The site proving insufficient for Mansart's ideas of scale, the City of Paris seized the opportunity of associating itself with the proposed tribute to the King—none too pleased with the citizens for their attitude during the troubles of the Fronde—bought the Hôtel d'Hemery[1] and some adjoining buildings, and added the site they occupied to the space at Mansart's disposal.

The great architect planned the Place as a three-quarter circle, of which the rue "Vuide-Gousset," with the Hôtels Clérambault and Pomponne, formed the chord on the north-east side; these houses were to be rebuilt to correspond with the remainder of the new Place. The composition adopted by the master was an Ionic Order of pilasters, standing upon an arcaded stylobate, and crowned by the new "Mansard" type of roof with "chéneau"; all precisely (save for some mutilation) as the still existing western segment of the Place.

The City undertook the erection of the buildings, and lost no time in entering into a contract dated 12 September 1685—of which more anon—

[1] Also called "d'Eméri," or "d'Ennery." The spelling I give is that of Gomboust's plan of 1652.

with the architect Jean-Baptiste Prédot, to whom was entrusted the execution of Mansart's design. With equal promptitude Desjardins completed his monument, a statue of gilded bronze portraying the "Roi-Soleil," erect, apparelled in his coronation robes with all his Orders, and carrying his sceptre. With his royal foot he spurned Cerberus, three-headed emblem of the Triple Alliance, the while a winged Victory, poised upon a globe, held a wreath of laurels above his sacred head. A pedestal of marble received the Monarch, its sides adorned with four bronze panels in low relief, illustrating the supremacy achieved over Spain in 1662, the conquest of Franche-Comté 1668, the passage of the Rhine four years later, and the crowning peace of Nymegen in 1678; at each angle of its base crouched colossal bronze figures bound in emblematic chains, to indicate the vanquished nations, Spain, Holland, Germany, and Turkey. Below the statue, in golden letters, appeared the tremendous dedication "VIRO IMMORTALI," with divers other "inscriptions fastueuses," too long to quote here.

At the extremities of the two principal segments of its periphery, where the Place was intersected by streets, stood four triangular groups of marble Doric columns, 34 ft. high, surmounted by immense lanterns of gilded bronze, "such as are

carried on the poops of ships." Between these columns were suspended circular bronze bas-reliefs, framed in garlands of oak and laurel leaves, and disposed in sets of three superposed medallions, two to each group of columns; twenty-four in all.[1] Pl. VIII

The monument was inaugurated with sumptuous ceremony. Mansart's buildings, then but just begun, were represented by painted scenery, wooden galleries being provided for the spectators "en grande toilette, seigneurs, dames, et bourgeois de qualité"; and on 28 March 1686, in the presence of the Dauphin and Dauphine—the King being still at Versailles, newly convalescent from a dangerous illness—La Feuillade with his staff of officers passed in review a procession of the City magnates. The Provost of the Merchants, with the Magistrates and their officers in robes of State, led the way, and were followed by the Coun-

[1] Twelve only of these medallions, those of the two groups of columns at the angles of the rue de la Feuillade and of the rue Croix-des-Petits-Champs, appear to have been actually executed and placed in position. It is curious that contemporary writers such as Brice, who must have been well acquainted with the Place, and Piganiol, who delighted to find errors in Brice's work, do not mention this fact. Both writers describe all the twenty-four medallions in detail. Patte, however ("Monumens," p. 103), says that some of the inscriptions given by these writers had never formed part of the monument; and Jaillot ("Recherches," Qr. Montmartre, p. 22) states that it was still unfinished in 1691.

cillors clad in black gowns with white-edged bands; an interesting fan-panel at the Carnavalet shows two of the latter dignitaries falling off their horses and upsetting the procession. The Provost of Paris and the officers of the Châtelet were not allowed the honour of assisting at the ceremony, having, it seems, absented themselves when the statue of Louis XIII was set up in the Place Royale some fifty years before. Kings' memories were long in those days!

Three times did Marshal La Feuillade himself lead his Regiment of Gardes-Françaises, with drums beating, around the Place; dismounting as many times from his horse to prostrate himself "avec force genuflexions," before the image of his royal master. Fireworks and immense enthusiasm signalized the dedication of this, the first, statue erected to the popular idol. The second statue erected to him was that placed, on 14 July 1689,—unremarked by prophecy—in the court of the Hôtel-de-Ville, as a record of his reconciliation with the City; a century, to the day, before the fall of the Bastille!

I have spoken of La Feuillade as shrewd, and while there is no reason to doubt his perfectly sincere devotion to his King, the epithet is justified by the fact that he intended the whole Place with its monument, to be, not only a memorial of Louis,

but one of the most splendid cenotaphs ever erected, for himself! To this end he had, according to Choisy,[1] arranged with the bare-footed Augustins (the "Petits-Pères"), whose convent adjoined the "Place," for the construction of a tomb in their church, from which an underground passage should lead to a vault at the foot of the statue, wherein his body should lie; a scheme which was brought to naught by the King refusing the necessary permission for his inhumation there. He died in 1691, leaving his duchy of La Feuillade, worth 22,000 livres annually, to his heirs-male in trust, and at their failure to the city of Paris, for the repair and upkeep of the monument; and especially for the regilding, every twenty-five years, of the bronze figures and decorative features.

The monument, despite this careful prevision, by no means shared the "immortality" ascribed to the Monarch it commemorated. Soon after the Duke's death, the city acquired proprietorial rights over the entire site of the Place, and removed two whole bays of the façade in order to open up the small street called Petite-rue-de-la-

[1] Saint-Foix ("Essais sur Paris"), writing a century later, contradicts this statement; but Abbé Choisy, though scandalous, was at any rate a contemporary of La Feuillade, and Saint-Simon's estimate of his character tends to make the story probable. It is accepted by Dulaure ("Hist. de Paris" and Mercier ("Tableau de Paris") without comment.

Vrillière (now rue Catinat), destroying the continuity of the ordinance and cutting the central segment into two unequal sections. In 1699 the votive lamps were extinguished by order of the Conseil d'Etat, on the ground that they were unnecessary and attracted undesirable characters; both the columns and the lanterns were removed in 1717 or 1718 by La Feuillade's own son. The columns were presented to the Théatin community for the decoration of the high altar of their chapel, of which the doorway still exists as the entrance to the Ecole des Beaux-Arts from the Quai Voltaire. They were considered unsuitable for the purpose and, with the exception of four, which are said to have gone to Sens Cathedral, have disappeared. Five of the bronze medallions,
Pl. IX modelled by Jean Arnould, from the drawings of Pierre Mignard the painter, eventually found their way to Windsor Castle; and these—the only known survivors of the series—have now been restored to Paris by the gracious action of His Majesty King George V.

The mutilated monument and Place remained as shown in Aveline's drawing,[1] until the Revolution; when the four "Nations enchainées" were removed to the cellars of the Louvre, at Lameth's

[1] An engraving will be found in Felibien's "Histoire de Paris" (tom. II., p. 1515).

The Restoration of Military Discipline.

The Taking of Cambrai; 1677.

TWO OF ARNOULD'S BRONZE MEDALLIONS.

suggestion, a few days before the Fête de la Fédération of 14 July 1790, lest they should give offence to the deputies of Franche-Comté and other visitors. Dulaure seriously suggested that they should be re-used in a monument to "Liberty," and regarded as emblems of those fallen aristocrats, the ministers, clergy, magistrates, and nobility; but they were eventually transferred to the Invalides, where they now stand at the angles of the two pavilions of the north front. Napoleon intended to place them at the eastern entrance to the Louvre, under Perrault's colonnade, and the vacant pedestals he prepared still await them there. After the dreadful 10th of August 1792, the statue itself was pulled down by the mob to be melted into cannon; and a huge wooden pyramid was erected on the site in honour of the "Conventionnel" Le Peletier de Saint-Fargeau, who had expiated his regicide vote at the hands of an old member of the King's body-guard; the name of the Place being changed by decree of 12 August 1792 to "Place de la Victoire-Nationale." By good fortune the antiquary Lenoir succeeded in saving six bas-reliefs from the pedestal and plinth, and these are now preserved in the Musée du Louvre (Salle des Coustou).

With Napoleon came fresh changes. The

wooden pyramid was burned,[1] the square rechristened Place des Victoires, and the foundation-stone laid of a joint monument to the two generals, Kléber and Desaix. The political wind was, however, setting rapidly towards a monarchy; the odour of Kléber's Jacobin antecedents was no longer grateful, and it was of General Desaix alone, who had fallen at Marengo, that a bronze statue was erected, upon a pedestal embellished with bas-reliefs of the conquest of upper Egypt and the battle of Heliopolis. This work was entrusted to Dejoux, a sculptor so penetrated with the academic severity then in fashion, that he represented the unfortunate hero stark naked! The uncompromising sincerity of the artist's detail scandalized the public, and, in response to their demand that the General should be "either dressed or suppressed," the municipality screened him from their outraged sight by a wooden hoarding.

Next came the Restoration of 1814, when Louis XVIII promptly cleared away both statue

[1] "Avec le temps, on s'aperçut, comme il arrive parfois pour les monuments trop précipitamment décrétés, que malgré sa fin tragique, un aussi médiocre personnage que Le Peletier ne méritait peut-être point d'encombrer indéfiniment de sa mémoire une des belles places de Paris; de plus la pyramide était unanimement jugée disgracieuse."—Lanzac de Laborie ("Paris sous Napoléon").

and hoarding, and sent Desaix to follow his great predecessor to the melting pot, whence he emerged in 1818 as the well-known "Henry IV," of the Pont Neuf. "Thus," remarks Dulaure, "within a period of twenty-five years, the monuments of Kings were demolished by Republicans, those of the Republic by Bonaparte, and those of the Emperor in their turn destroyed by Kings"; sagely reflecting that such successive demolitions are a "loss to History, a profit to Artists (?), and a lesson to the World at large."

The second of the "three glorious days" (28 July 1830) saw the Place des Victoires occupied by a strong body of the populace in insurrection against the government of Charles X. Dislodged by Marmont's lancers, they fell back into the rues du Mail, des Fossés-Montmartre (Aboukir), du Petit-Reposoir (Etienne-Marcel), Croix-des-Petits-Champs, and Neuve-des-Petits-Champs (now rue des Petits-Champs). The artillery, coming into position in the Place, promptly laid their guns on these radiating streets, and swept them with shrapnel to most dreadful effect. A few days later the King had fled, and the infuriated people were on the point of once more demolishing the statue of Louis XIV,[1] which was preserved by the ingenious

[1] The equestrian statue by Bosio, erected in 1822, which still occupies the centre of the Place.

device of fastening to it a tricolour flag, of which the staff was, by accident or design, secured by tyings which closed the mouth of the most absolute Monarch who ever governed France.

From about this time the state of the "Place" went from bad to worse. Under Louis Philippe it fell into the possession of tradesmen who, by the negligence of the authorities, were permitted to deface Mansart's work with their advertisements and shop signs. Still worse befell in 1884, when
Pl. X five arcades were demolished to open up the new rue Etienne-Marcel; the purchasers of the corner plots being permitted, nay, enjoined, to build to the height of the new houses in the street, without regard to the design of the Place. The City Council even went so far as to propose that the whole "Place" should be rebuilt in conformity with the paltry and uninteresting façades of the new street! Fortunately the owners would not agree to rebuild at all, and the atrocious project fell to the ground. In 1894 yet more damage was done, a contractor being allowed to reconstruct the angle of the rue Croix-des-Petits-Champs without reference to the original ordinance; and now in the whole eastern segment of the "Place" one house only of Mansart's design remains intact.

A few years before the war the degradation of

HOUSE IN THE PLACE DES VICTOIRES.

Demolished in 1884, during the formation of the rue Etienne-Marcel

this once beautiful Place had become a reproach to Paris. The house at the southern angle of the rue la-Feuillade was allowed to fall into so ruinous a condition that it had to be almost rebuilt. That at the opposite corner was also unsafe; it has now been taken down and re-erected under the supervision of M. Louis Bonnier, the Directeur des Services d'Architecture de la Ville, an official who —fortunately for the municipality—is also a distinguished artist. Supported by the Commission du Vieux Paris, he insisted that Mansart's design should be exactly followed in the necessary reconstruction, and has preserved and replaced all that was possible of the old work. So long ago as 1910 he had drawn the attention of the Préfet de la Seine to the state of the Place des Victoires, recalling the terms of the still valid contract made with J. B. Prédot in 1685,—which states expressly that "à l'avenir, ledit Sieur Prédot ou ceux qui auront droit de luy seront tenus et obligez d'entretenir ladite façade en pareil état et symétrie, sans y rien changer,"—and urging the city to enforce respect for its conditions. Changes must doubtless come with the inexorable process of time; the rue la-Feuillade must be widened, and better connection to the Place des Petits-Pères is needed than that provided by the old rue Vuide-Gousset. Recognizing these facts, M. Bonnier appended

Fig. 8

to his report a most ingenious plan, which shows how the admitted necessities can be met without injury to Mansart's ordinance; preserving, moreover, the old Hôtel Clérambault, which, being of greater height than Mansart's work, helps to balance the modern building opposite it. It is

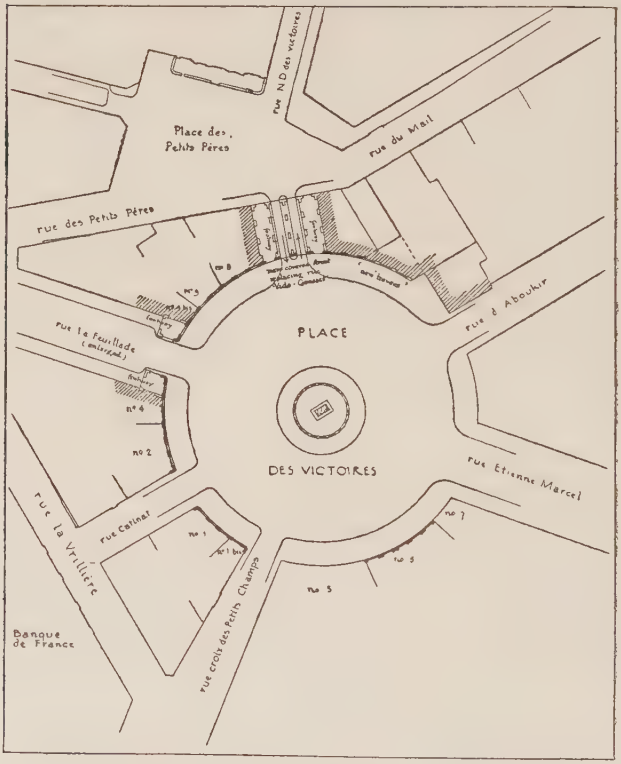

Fig. 8.—THE PLACE DES VICTOIRES.
Plan for widening the adjoining streets by M. Louis Bonnier.

gratifying to note that many of the advertising boards and signs which disfigured the ancient architecture have already been removed, though too many still remain.

As originally built, the Place comprised forty arcaded bays (travées). Twelve of these have Fig. 9

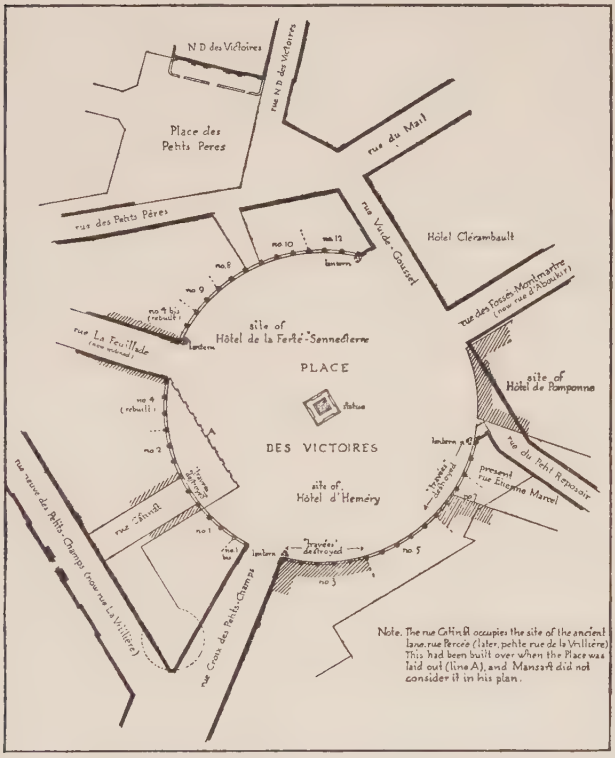
N D des Victoires
rue N D des Victoires
Place des Petits Peres
rue du Mail
rue des Petits Pères
rue Vide-Gousset
Hôtel Clérambault
no 10
no 12
no 8
no 9
no 4 bis (rebuilt)
rue La Feuillade (now widened)
site of Hôtel de la Ferté-Senneterre
PLACE
DES VICTOIRES
statue
site of Hôtel de Pomponne
rue des Fossés Montmartre (now rue d'Aboukir)
no 4 (rebuilt)
no 2
no 1
rue Catinat
site of Hôtel d'Heméry
rue du Petit Reposoir
present rue Etienne Marcel
rue Neuve des Petits Champs (now rue La Vrillière)
rue Croix des Petits-Champs
no 5
no 3
Note. The rue Catinat occupies the site of the ancient lane, rue Percée (later, petite rue de la Vrillière). This had been built over when the Place was laid out (line A), and Mansart did not consider it in his plan.

Fig. 9.—THE PLACE DES VICTOIRES.
Plan as first built.

been hopelessly destroyed; two when the rue Catinat, five when the rue Etienne-Marcel, cleft the periphery into irregular sections, five more when the angle of the rue des Petits-Champs was rebuilt, leaving twenty-eight standing. With the three bays to be added by the new plan there will be thirty-one, and as the city has now acquired some of the property affected by M. Bonnier's proposals there is good ground for hope that they will be carried to execution. All we artists who love Paris, and owe so much to her inspiration, beseech her to complete the redemption of the Place des Victoires from its former squalor and restore it as a jewel to her mural crown.

"CONSILIO MANUQUE"

(SOME SUGGESTIONS TO STUDENTS)

"CONSILIO MANUQUE"

(SOME SUGGESTIONS TO STUDENTS.)

"Sperne puer neque tu choreas,
Donec virenti canities abest
Morosa."—HOR. *Carm.* I. ix.

IT is a common saying that "we are all students," and, like many commonplaces, it holds more truth than it conveys to those whose perception of its full meaning is dulled by its repetition. To be a student is to have continual freshness of enjoyment; we learn our page, and before it lies ever another leaf to turn in the endless book, with the pleasant anticipation of what it may reveal. The revelation, it is true, may disappoint and sadden us, yet it is but a passage, and if we read it aright as honest students, we learn from its bitterness to taste the true savour of the beauty which follows it. Even should the next page repeat the hard lesson, its predecessor has helped us to experience, and we spell its meaning with a good heart. And to us who study the greatest of all writings, the wondrous

chapters of the Life of Art, there comes, in howsoever humble a degree, something of immortality. We slake our thirst at the well of knowledge, and find that—like the fontaine de Jouvence—it has renewed our youth.

It is no light thing to address one's younger fellow-students—bearing in mind Juvenal's maxim; age brings doubt as well as confidence, and while grey-beards may properly discuss between themselves the adjustment of ancient landmarks, to spread distrust of their accuracy may leave those who follow without helpful guidance for their progress. Art, too, has been talked about as long as it has been practised, and I never heard that much good came thereby, unless to the talker. Yet the subject is inexhaustible, and the temptation great. Your Artist, I take it, has always in him the makings of an Evangelist, and though he is for the most part dumb and inarticulate (save in the company of his fellows, when he is inaudible!) he is yet privately conscious that he, and he alone, possesses the true secret and talisman by which greatness may be achieved. Nor is his belief shaken by the lamentable shortcomings of his own accomplishment; for that, says he, shall be amended in the next work undertaken, whereof the success is, by him, undoubted.

You are all, it is safe to assume, excellent designers. You have but newly begun, and have already learned—not perhaps without some private surprise—how delightfully easy is the art you have embraced. Later, you may encounter more difficulty. I would not discourage you for worlds, but I may confide to you that in my early days I seemed to myself an extremely accomplished and facile designer! As years went on my assurance abated; it became less and less easy to please myself—to say nothing of others; and I have now come to regard any architect, who can put up a building that is reasonably satisfactory, both within and without, as very nearly akin to a genius. So, while I still cherish the hope of doing one day something meritorious, I can claim for the present no more than a chastened humility, and some practical experience which is very much at your service.

For one thing I am sincerely grateful. I had the happy chance, in early life, of living in the intimacy of painters and sculptors, and knowing their work and their methods; I counsel you all to seek such society. Your own work may not interest them much, for the Painter is apt to look askance at architecture, as a thing of which he knows nothing, and is not particularly anxious to know anything; while the Sculptor seems to

hold—as Dogberry did of writing and reading—that it comes by nature ("give God thanks, and make no boast of it"). To mollify any students of these arts who may read these lines, I may add that, as regards the average Architect's appreciation of the canons which govern painting and sculpture, it is not too much to say that the thought of them has never entered his mind.

* * *

These reflections bring to me a doubt I have often expressed, as to whether our narrowly specialized education in art is not radically unsound. Why is it we no longer find among us men who are adepts in painting or sculpture, or both—to say nothing of the *Ars Poetica*—as well as in architecture? Since the three sister arts demand in all essential respects the same attainments of manual skill and appreciation of beauty, joined with the poetic and creative temperament, a common initial training is surely indicated for the study of all three. This, which in my student days was impracticable, owing to the prevalent and time-honoured system of apprenticeship to a single master, would now mean no more than a fusion of the schools that have become as general for architects as for painters and sculptors; and this, as I believe, to our advantage. The elements

of technique, such as the handling of material—paint, clay, or what-not—and the habit of mind which enables the artist to realise and design a cube object in plane projections, are best taught in a school. The Master, engaged in the practice of his art, has long forgotten, in the course of daily use which has become an instinct, the difficulties he experienced in acquiring his facility, and the way in which he learned it. The beginner can only wonder at his dexterity without appreciating his qualities, and he himself is out of touch with the tyro's troubles. There are, of course, men who take infinite trouble with their pupils, but this is, as it were, the cracking of nuts with a steam-hammer. In a school all the elementary difficulties are constant, and both teachers and students ascertain quickly the readiest means of surmounting them; proceeding to successive stages of interest wherein practice brings improved technical ability. An active emulation, too, is far more keenly developed where many are working than where there are but one or two; and students learn even more from their own mutual failures than from the teachers' instruction.

My choice, therefore, for the budding artist is a school rather than apprenticeship; and I would have students begin, each and all, with the representation of existing objects in geometric

projection, in plastic material, and in line and colour. Having attained, in each method, some satisfactory degree of proficiency—whether tested by formal examination or not is unimportant—they would move into the class of design. There they should practise the elements of Composition, rendered, as before, in the medium of each of the more important materials pertaining to the three great art divisions with which they are concerned. Here we may leave them, for the present, to reach a certain standard of ability. Already there will have been a weeding-out; some, at any rate, realizing their small chance of becoming reasonably efficient, and adopting other pursuits. The survivors will have found, by actual experience, the medium in which they can most readily express their ideas; and proceed, as now, to the higher technique of the art for which they are best qualified. The Architects will have gained freedom and courage in the handling of mass, the others will be the better Sculptors and Painters for such glimmering as they may have caught of the suggestive beauties of a fine plan.

* * *

Now, though I have praised the school as most valuable in the early stages of our professional training, I would also warn you not to mistake

the means for the end; not to stay there too long. If you remain all your life you will still not have finished your education in our art. Therefore, so soon as you have acquired fairly good technique, hire yourself as assistant or " improver " to a practising architect, and get to work on actual buildings, no matter how small or unimportant. I remember, when first I came to London (with the usual bundle of drawings under my arm), calling upon a well-known architect. He received me kindly, but, " My dear fellow," he said, " I have little use for highly qualified assistance; so much of my work is mere building, not architecture at all ! " I beg you not to accept any such fallacy. All building is architecture, however simple it may be, or appear to be. Some of it, we know, is very bad; that is the fault of the designer; there is always opportunity for doing it well instead of badly, and, it is more than likely, of saving your client's pocket at the same time.

The tendency of modern educational methods is to prolong the period of training, to demand ever higher attainment before releasing the student for his life's work. We may assume, generally, ten years as occupied by preparatory and secondary studies,[1] and to these may be added

[1] *Vide* "Modern Studies." (Report of the Leathes Committee on Modern Languages, 1918.)

three more for a university course. A good general education is of the utmost importance to those who propose to enter our profession; I would not abate it by a single line. But, here we are come to the age of twenty or twenty-one, before we attack the four or five years' technical study which is to carry us through our qualifying examinations. And there is talk of lengthening this term. The change I have just suggested would hardly tend to shorten it, though I think the preliminary work indicated might well form the basis for secondary school, certainly for university, art instruction.

It is a question for grave consideration whether prolongation of school training is justified by its results when tested by the meter of economic production. Is the fuller equipment, with which we begin our professional life, altogether a compensation for the youthful freshness we have spent in fashioning it? Education is a hobby with educators; they look with natural pride upon the ever improving quality of their handiwork, and seek for it a still higher perfection. Yet, we are to remember that our working time is tragically short, and by no means to be extended; it is easy to lop off years of preparation at its beginning, there is no hope to clap on others at its end to replace them. And it is just

those early years which are fullest of vigour, imagination, and daring—qualities most needful to the artist; for he who attacks a great problem of architecture must do so with the confident courage that inspires air-pilots and destroyer-captains, in their not less hazardous enterprises.

*
* *

It is curious to note how much earlier than we our forefathers set about the active exercise of their professions. Looking back to the seventeenth century: the biographer of Gassion tells us that he had so profited by his studies in the humanities and philosophy that at sixteen years of age he was a finished scholar. He knew, besides, several modern languages—Flemish, German, Italian and Spanish. Nor had he anything of the weakling bookworm. There was fighting in the Savoy; he tramped four hundred miles afoot across France, enlisted as a common soldier, gained his commission by sheer merit, was a colonel at twenty-two, and by thirty-four years of age had become Marshal of France. Before him, Arnauld d'Andilly is a still more surprising example. He had become a good Latinist and Grecian under his father's tuition, but, at ten years old, it was thought he should begin more practical studies; his day was accordingly

divided into two (it began at 4 a.m. !), and the afternoon devoted to preparation for his official duties. When he was eleven he entered first one, and then another, of the State departments of Finance and, at sixteen, was himself in charge of a public Service, and admitted to the King's Council. Omer Talon—I take these French instances because they lie ready to my hand—was reputed, at eighteen, not only a classic scholar of the first class, but profoundly versed in the very complex Law of his time. He was already admitted to the Bar, began to plead, and became famous forthwith. Nor need we seek examples outside our own time and country. Sir Charles Barry was in practice at twenty-five, having already spent five years in travelling abroad. Elmes was but twenty-one when he took the competition for St. George's Hall. Pugin, when he died, at forty years of age, had already built sixty-five churches in the United Kingdom alone, to say nothing of those in the Colonies, or of monasteries, convents, schools and, incidentally, of his work at the Houses of Parliament.

The names I have mentioned are those of exceptional men—though there are many more to the point; our technical education is directed to the requirements of the average, and the level of this has admittedly been raised during the last

twenty years; doubtless a considerable achievement. But we must beware of attaching too great importance to it. One fine work, after all said, is worth more to a nation than five hundred a little better than bad; and that the men I have spoken of were producing masterpieces at an age when our students devote their energy to endless examinations, is matter for reflection. The age at which the youth of a nation begins to take part in its work is no matter for indifference, says Arvède Barine.[1] At thirty we have no longer the thoughts and inspirations we had at twenty; and, to quote R. L. Stevenson, " if youth is not quite right in its opinions, there is a strong probability that age is not much more so. A man finds he has been wrong at every preceding stage of his career, only to deduce the astonishing conclusion that he is at last entirely right."

A last word on this subject, and I will leave it. The value of the prizes and studentships we offer, the ambition of the subjects set, and the really astonishing degree of proficiency demanded to win them, tend to raise the age of competitors and to lengthen their school training. The magnificent productions of the French winners of the Prix de Rome are a glory to the Académie des Beaux-Arts; to gain the prize is to be made

[1] "La Jeunesse de la Grande Mademoiselle." Paris, 1905.

for life; but there is another side to the picture. So high is the standard of accomplishment needed that it is rarely won before the age of thirty, and that after three, four, five, or more successive years of struggle. What of the sacrifice of time by the unsuccessful in this purely scholastic competition? Even in our own less strenuous tourneys, I suspect that scrutiny of the lists of chief prize-winners might reveal a disheartening proportion of men who, having shot their bolt and scored a gold, were left with an empty quiver for more serious strife. It is undesirable that a deceptive excellence should be maintained in prize work; the object of such competitions is to stimulate all students, and the purpose of the award is to encourage the tyro best fitted to profit by its provisions, not to glorify him who has the advantage of longer practice. For this reason I think the qualifying limit of age should be kept low; twenty-five, at the outside.

* * *

Architecture is an exacting mistress. She will tolerate no rivals; beware how you take her to yourself if you have not strength to be faithful. Like a mistress, too, her pleasure is capricious; therefore be not discouraged by disappointment,

for when you expect it least she will show her tenderest favour. Only to her lovers is disclosed the elusive beauty of her symmetry, and they, like Psyche, may not know its secret. " In the beginning," says the Hindoo legend,[1] " when Twashtri came to the creation of woman, he found that he had exhausted his materials in the making of man, and that no solid elements were left. In this dilemma, after profound meditation, he did as follows: he took the rotundity of the moon, and the curves of creepers, and the clinging of tendrils, and the trembling of grass, and the slenderness of the reed, and the bloom of flowers, and the lightness of leaves, and the tapering of the elephant's trunk, and the glances of deer, and the clustering of rows of bees, and the joyous gaiety of sunbeams, and the weeping of clouds, and the fickleness of the winds, and the timidity of the hare, and the vanity of the peacock, and the softness of the parrot's bosom, and the hardness of adamant, and the sweetness of honey, and the cruelty of the tiger, and the warm glow of fire, and the coldness of snow, and the chattering of jays, and the cooing of doves; and compounding all these together he made woman, and gave her to man."

[1] Rasakósha's Story (F. W. Bain. "A Digit of the Moon," Methuen, London, 1910).

Believe me; the art of architecture is no less complex, no less mysterious, no less alluring to those who give their hearts to it, than Eve—its first, divinest model.

FINIS.